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ABSTRACT

The report on The American Indian Student in Higher Education acts as a guide for Indian students and as a resource for educators. The practical objectives of this Institute could be broadly defined as the transmission of a sensitivity for the special problems of prospective Indian students in gaining entrance to any one of a variety of educational institutions and successfully completing the course study. Specific problems which were given attention include admissions, financial aid, counseling, developmental education, curriculum reform and Native American studies, continuing and adult education, vocational education, and teacher education programs. The report emphasizes the preeminent need for developing multicultural teacher education. Teacher training which develops a sensitivity to Native American concerns might be the key to the improvement of Indian education. Three model teacher training programs and the recommendations of the teacher education workshop committee are given as guides for the development of improved programs at teacher colleges. The report also conveys an overall knowledge and understanding of historical and contemporary Indian culture, life experience, and conflicts with the dominant society. (FF)

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Clash of Cultures

"The American Indian Student in Higher Education"

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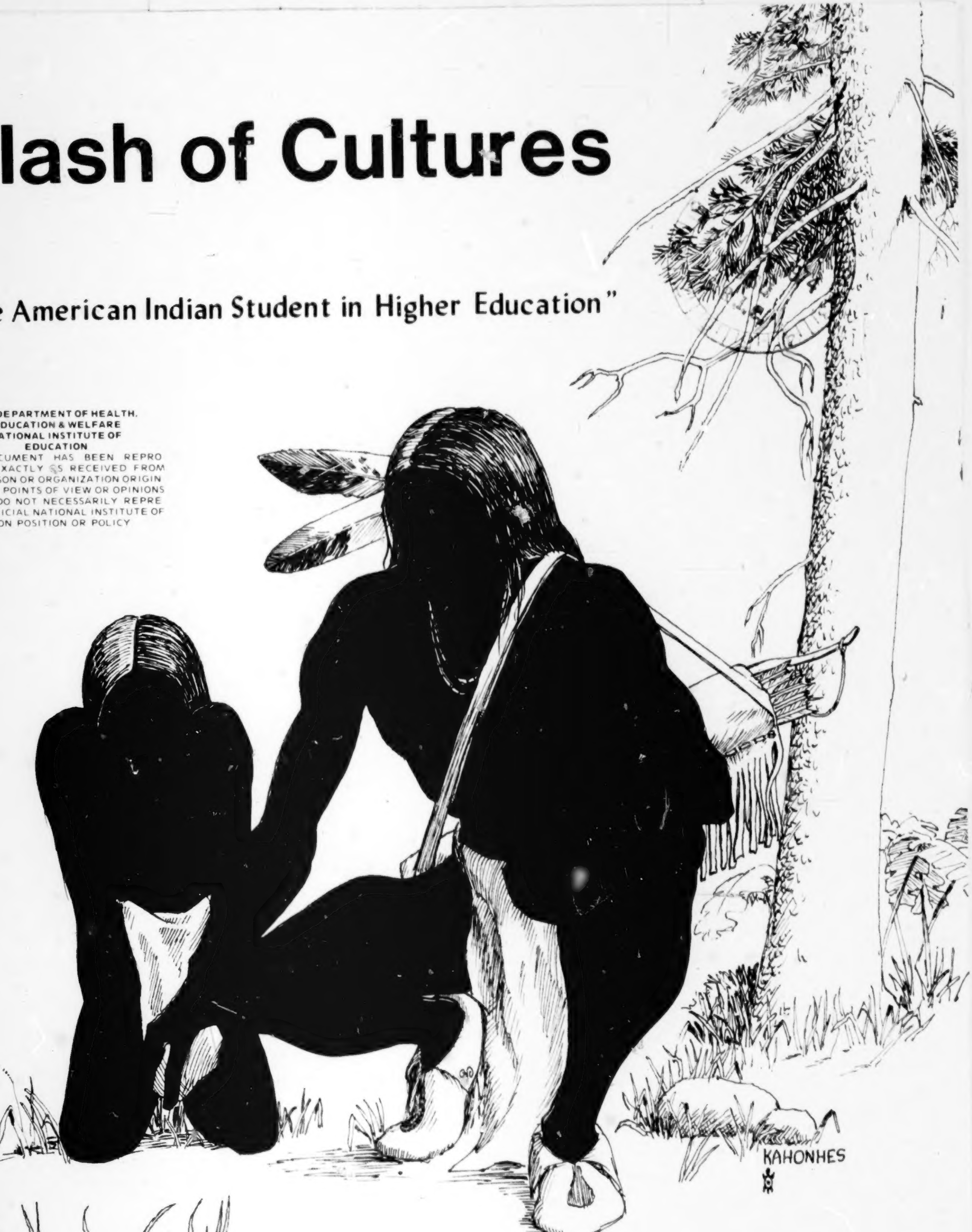

St. Lawrence University July 10 - 28, 1972

RC 007492

Which Path?

This report on "The American Indian Student in Higher Education" attempts to act as a guide to the Indian student and as a resource for educators. Just as the cover depicts the Indian child being shown the signs of the forest, this report provides guidance as today's Indian students choose and follow their own educational paths. Educators can smooth these paths by applying this information in a response to the needs and desires of the Indian people.

The practical objectives of this Institute could be broadly defined as the transmission of a sensitivity for the special problems encountered by the prospective Indian student in gaining entrance to any one of a variety of educational institutions and successfully completing the course of study. Specific problems which were given attention included admissions, financial aid, counseling, developmental education, curriculum reform and Native American studies, continuing and adult education, vocational education, and teacher education programs.

Consultants and lecturers with knowledge in these areas shared their experiences with the Institute participants. The most important lessons to be learned from these people is that no one remedy is a panacea and that the diverse nature of the Native American community requires solutions best developed by Native Americans themselves and achieved with the help of the resources, technical assistance, and advice of educational institutions.

The report emphasizes the pre-eminent need for developing multicultural teacher education. The training of teachers with a sensitivity to Native American concerns is a measure which might very well be the key to the improvement of Indian education. Three model teacher training programs and the recommendations of the teacher education workshop committee are reported as guides for the development of improved programs at teacher colleges.

Although the Institute was targeted to higher education, the nation's secondary schools – public, private, and Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools – often became the center of attention. Indeed, secondary education bore the brunt of the criticism as the root cause of many of the difficulties with which the Indian student must cope at higher levels.

An important corrollary to the educational theme is Indian self-determination and community control. The actual implementation of this principle in the educational sphere is demonstrated in reports on the "Family Plan for Indian Education" in the state of Minnesota and the historical development of local control in the Mississippi Choctaw community. In a dissenting opinion on the trend of outside involvement, the noted Indian spokesman, Mr. Vine Deloria, makes a case for noninterference by government agencies and educational institutions as a preferable path in Indian community development.

All workshop reports reiterate the need for joint assessment and action. By depicting the possible relationships between the community, higher education, and the public schools, these reports illustrate how community development and educational opportunity can potentially join to foster the goals of Indian people.

Beyond an orientation to specific educational problems, this report also attempts to convey an overall knowledge and understanding of the historical and contemporary Native American culture, their life experience, and the conflict with the dominant society for the preservation and advancement of their culture. Dr. Sol Tax relates a personal account of a long association with Indian people which led him to an understanding of the clash of Indian and Western oriented cultures. Recognition of the differences, he believes, is an important first step in breaking down individual ethnocentrism.

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A Report of the Institute on

"The American Indian Student In Higher Education"

St. Lawrence University, July 10-28, 1972

Dr. Robert N. Wells, Jr.
Program Director

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through the generosity of the
XEROX Corporation

Roy H. Sandstrom
Editor

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Clash of Cultures, a report of the second Institute on "The American Indian Student in Higher Education" convened in July, 1972, is published by St. Lawrence University under a grant from the Xerox Corporation.

Initial copies of this report have been distrubuted free of charge. Further copies will be made available for a one dollar ($1.00) postage fee to any Native American or Native American organization upon request. For all others, a nominal charge of $3.00 each, prepaid, will be made for the second and successive copies requested. Only a limited supply of reports is available.

Educating the Educators, the report on the first Institute of July, 1971, is now out of print. Approximately 4,000 copies of this report were nationally distributed to tribal governments, leaders, and education committees; Native American organizations, urban centers, journals and newspapers; U.S. and Canadian federal, state, provincial and local governments and selected officials within the various branches of government; state and federal departments of education; colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education; libraries, museums, and resource centers; secondary schools with Native American enrollment; guidance and minority affairs personnel and other interested individuals and organizations.

Educating the Educators is now available through the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) information retrieval system. The report may be obtained in paper reproduction or microfiche (a photo reproduction system requiring special viewing equipment available to libraries and other major resource centers) by sending $3.29 for each paper copy or $.65 for each microfiche to:

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Are We Ready for Listening ?, a one-hour video tape highlighting important speakers from the 1972 Institute, provides an overview of some of the historical and contemporary problems in Indian education. Produced in cooperation with the SUC at Potsdam, New York, and television station WNPE of Watertown, New York, and broadcast over educational television in the Northeast during the Fall of 1972, the tape is now available for rental or purchase (for nominal, at cost fees). Copies have been made in all currently used video equipment formats including half-inch, inch, and two-inch sizes. More specific information is available upon request.

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Editor's Note

This Institute is one response to the need for improvement in Native American education. From an editorial perspective, this report is simply an extension of the Institute which enlarges and perpetuates the informational forum in another format.

Problems of a human nature rarely have exactly suitable, permanent solutions. The assaults of new influences (philosophical, technological, demographical, etc.) which continually alter the human condition often reshape the problems and, necessarily, their solutions. Such a situation as that of the Indian in education requires a sustained dialogue among those directly involved. That is the objective of this Institute. By enabling Indian people to speak directly to administrators of higher education institutions, the Indian perspective can be impressed upon a bureaucracy which, until lately, has been ethnically and culturally insulated. The workshops provide the initial opportunity for the participants to respond to the dialogue. Further follow-up efforts are anticipated when they return to their institutions.

This report attempts to carry on the work of the Institute in developing a dialogue. The report submits the experiences, thoughts, opinions, and recommendations of those who took part to the scrutiny of a larger outside audience. This material is offered with the intent that its influence will have an impact on the state of Indian education and bring its readers to a new level of understanding. It is assumed that the work of the Institute will be adapted or modified as individual circumstances and new situations in this ongoing process demand. There is no pretense that the remedies suggested herein will or can be universally applied.

For those committed to change within the field of Indian education the scope of the problem, the great diversity among Indian people, and the maze of tentative solutions which are offered can be discouraging. But simply having grappled with the issues and having been immersed in another cultural world is of value in itself, especially to our educational leaders. As Sol Tax indicated, it is a long process which demands considerable patience to reach an understanding of a totally different culture.

A note should be made of the limitations of a written report in transmitting the full picture of the Institute in all its dimensions. Hopefully, distortion of the proceedings has been held to a minimum. There are, however, unresolved disagreements and problems within. Nevertheless, this report should provide the raw material for students and educators to develop specific plans of action.

— Roy Sandstrom

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Cover: In ancient times the skills and knowledge that a child acquired were the responsibility of his clan elders. The young child's mother's brother, being of the same clan, had the duty of teaching him woodcraft. Other uncles, great-uncles, and grandfathers also assumed responsibility for his development into adulthood. The same was true for the women in the clan. – Kahones (John Fadden), describing the cover.

Photography: Doug Sharpe, except for Sol Tax and Vine Deloria, pages 10, 69, and 71, credit Tom Southall.

Editorial Assistants: Deborah Rochow, Anne Simpson, Dru Wood.

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A Hierarchy of Priorities

by Robert N. Wells

The need for a hierarchy of priorities for the full scope of Indian education has clearly emerged from two successive institutes on "The American Indian Student in Higher Education."

Teacher Education

Recognized by many as the first among these priorities is the need for better prepared teachers in the primary and secondary schools serving Indian students. Much of the difficulty that the Indian student encounters at the college level can be traced to his precollege educational experience. Ninety-five percent of all teachers who instruct Indian students are non-Indian. As a result, the Indian student finds himself normally attending a school primarily staffed and directed by non-Indians who as a group do not have a broad understanding of the culture, history, and life-style of the Indian students they teach. There is little or no preparation in teacher education programs or in-service programs for teachers which serves to heighten their awareness of Indian culture or create a sensitivity to the Indian way. Moreover, the curriculum in the school does little to stimulate the student's cultural awareness or engender pride in being Indian. Drop-out rates approaching 50% at the secondary level are in part explainable because of the lack of relevance to the Indian student of the white oriented curriculum and the insensitivity of teachers to the Indian student and his culture. Until this gap is closed, higher education will have to continue to compensate for these deficiencies in precollege education.

For the foreseeable future, large numbers of Indian students will be taught by whites. It is imperative that these teachers undergo as part of their teacher training program exposure to the Indian culture which will develop an appreciation of the unique experiences that the Indian student brings to the classroom. A principal task of teacher education institutions will be to develop teacher education programs designed to meet the special needs of both Indian and non-Indian teachers who will be serving in school systems which Indian students attend. Equally important for the short run is the need to provide workshops and in-service training modules for teachers presently working with Indian students. Critical to the success of these projects is the involvement of the Indian community in helping to shape the teacher education curriculum designs and in-service programs.

Currently the teacher education programs underway at the University of Georgia and the University of Arizona seek to develop a method of teacher education which incorporates along with subject matter competency a fuller understanding of Indian language, culture, and history. The importance of these projects is that they are the first attempts to include bicultural and bilingual materials and teaching methods into a teacher certification program for Native American college students who will be teaching in the Indian community. States and school districts with large concentrations of Indian students should be aware of these experimental programs as well as the bicultural education programs being conducted at Ramah and Rough Rock on the Navajo Reservation, the Rocky Boy School in Montana, and the Native American primary and secondary curriculum projects under development in South Dakota and New York State.

Community Education

A second important priority for Indian communities is the regaining and retaining of control over their own education. American Indians are now serving on school boards, directing federally funded Community Action Programs, and supervising services which were previously provided and directed by others. Colleges and universities with close proximity to such communities have a special obligation to ascertain from Indian leaders ways in which they might provide educational assistance that can enhance greater self-determination by Indian communities. On all reservations and in the cities where Indians have resettled there is a demonstrated need to provide a broad range of educational assistance to the Indian community. Because of the tragic neglect of the American Indian and his culture by our educational system, large numbers of Native Americans lack even the most basic skills to function in our society. The innovative and community based educational program in existence in the state of Minnesota, which provides a comprehensive educational experience for Indians, is the first attempt to critically examine the educational needs of the Indian population over a wide area and to construct a complete package of programs designed to meet the particular needs of the Chippewa and Sioux people living in that state.

Special Relationship of the Community College

The community college, both academic and vocational, is another aspect of education requiring priority attention. For young Indian students entering higher education the community college may have the attractiveness that the four-year school does not initially provide. Open admissions, remedial and supportive services, technical education programs, close proximity to home (reservation and urban areas), and low cost are only a few of the advantages appropriate to the special needs of the Indian student. There must be a campaign to sensitize the community colleges and to refocus their resources. With operational and attitudinal modifications, the two-year community college could be the type of educational institution most responsive to the reservation or urban Indian community. Because of their local outlook, they are well equipped to assist the Indian leadership in identifying and determining the particular educational needs of the community and mutually developing on-campus and community based extension programs. The ultimate self-determination of Native American communities will in large measure rest with their ability to perform the necessary community functions, and the community college can play an important role in this process.

Total Institutional Support

A successful educational experience for the Native American student at the college or university level involves an institutional commitment of a comprehensive nature. It is not enough merely to put out good lines of contact to Indian communities, to develop sound financial aid packaging for Indian students, or to add a few courses in Indian history, culture, and native crafts. A sound academic experience for the Indian student involves a well conceived program that will have continuing support at the highest levels of the institution. At a minimum, the supportive services at each institution should meet the counseling and developmental education needs of the Indian student the college seeks to attract.

Experiences at a number of colleges and universities provide us with some realistic guidelines that may help in shaping the direction of programs geared to serving the Native American student. Those institutions which have had the greatest degree of success have developed an on-campus educational program that has been specifically designed to anticipate the students' needs from the moment he arrives at the school. Institute discussions identified the special program for Native American students at Brigham Young University as a model to which other institutions could look. Brigham Young has prospered where others have failed principally because the school has accepted a broad based commitment to the students. Teachers, counselors, and administrative staff are recruited and specially trained to be sensitive to Native American cultures and life-styles. The educational program has been designed to cope with the students' academic shortcomings while simultaneously stressing the importance of Indian ethnic pride. The religious orientation of the Brigham Young program notwithstanding, there have been so few successful educational programs for American Indians in higher education that this pioneer program merits close attention and investigation.

Clearinghouses

As another priority step to improve higher education opportunities for Native Americans, a wider dissemination of information about higher education needs to be made to the Indian community, school districts serving Indian students, and to institutions of higher education themselves. At present there are no central or regional clearinghouses which might aid educators in identifying Indian students desirous of post-secondary education or which might assist Indian community leadership in seeking out colleges and universities that are recruiting Indian students. Programs such as Talent Search and the College Bound Corporation, which have been so successful in identifying Afro- and Spanish-American students desiring to attend college, should be expanded to include greater numbers of Native Americans and to establish regionally based clearinghouses cooperatively staffed by clusters of colleges and Indian personnel. Each year substantial numbers of American Indians are denied the opportunity of higher education soley because they lack the knowledge of what is available to them. The remoteness and isolation of the reservation communities and the seemingly invisible nature of the Indian in the central city should be no barrier to higher education.

The Urban Indian's Plight

Special mention should be made of the educational disadvantage of the urban Indian student. Today, approximately one in three Indians live off the reservation, most of them in the central cities. Moreover, by virtue of their departure from the reservation, they lack the protection afforded to the enrolled tribal member on the reserve under the federal trust responsibility. In most cities Indians are an invisible minority which suffers from alienation, few social services due to their lack of political clout, and, in many cases, open racial hostility. They have little effective economic or political power and no substantial voice in community educational policy. These conditions have created a burdensome atmosphere of apathy and lack of participation. The problem of accessibility to urban Indian students, identifying them through school census figures, and establishing lines of communication to urban Indian leadership should not be minimized. However, in most cities there are Indian social clubs, Indian centers, and other groups. Beyond this, many urban Indians maintain ties with the reservations and can be identified in this manner.

Implementing the Priorities

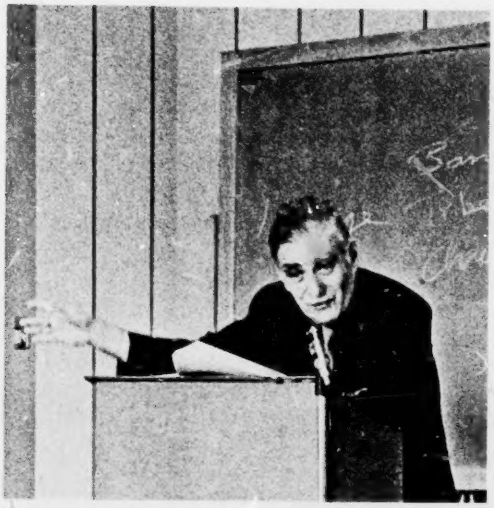
These are but a few suggested priority items in Indian education that affect colleges and universities. It is evident that these priorities, once identified and ordered by the Indian people, must be brought to bear on our educational institutions so that effective efforts at changing the now dismal situation can be implemented. Only a carefully planned and coordinated effort will breach a system which has previously withstood several worthy, but ineffective, assaults. We must insure that institutions of higher education reach out to help the Indian people with all the resources at their command.

The establishment of specific objectives has proved valuable in focusing energies and resources during the course of program development at St. Lawrence. We have been blessed with some success in the past, and we presently are attempting to translate several new ideas, including some from this Institute, into productive programs. On the horizon is a Special Services program, a new concept for the Institute, and a teacher education project. St. Lawrence is deeply indebted to the St. Regis Mohawk community whose help and guidance in planning this Institute was invaluable. We would also like to thank the Syracuse Indian community for the courtesies that they extended to us. Personally, I would like to express my gratitude to all the staff members, resource people, and participants who contributed so greatly to the Institute.

For the second successive year the Institute extends its thanks to the Xerox Corporation whose interest and involvement with the problems of the Native American has been manifested in a grant which when supplemented with the generous gift of an anonymous donor made the dissemination of these proceedings possible.

Let the Indian Speak

A plea to listen to the Indian is registered by a noted anthropologist as he relates a personal account of the long process of coming to understand another culture



Sol Tax

by Sol Tax

My explanation of how I came to know American Indians and learn anthropology from them is personal. While no two people become educated in the same way, the example of any one is perhaps a datum worth noting. My own particular example may not be very typical, but it is the only one I have. Therefore, I offer you an examination of myself and American Indians in juxtaposition over the course of 41 years. Obviously, I will be telling about only one view of that relationship – my own.

The main point I want to illustrate is that one does not have to become an Indian in order to understand an Indian. I came to know and appreciate American Indians (and therefore to understand myself as being different from them) at one level without changing myself and at another level changing myself very importantly. Distinguishing the level at which one changes in being culturally educated from the level at which one does not change is very significant.

We will discuss those inherent cultural bonds held in common by American Indians and basic to their life views. These are the big points in common; all of the little things, such as whether men and women are treated the same from tribe to tribe, are relatively unimportant. They are interesting questions for the profession of anthropology and for ordinary human curiosity, but anything that anthropologists talk about in our mumbo-jumbo way about culture and culture traits, which are our artifacts, are inventions of my profession and we are experts in being able to talk about them. We make them important because, unlike the more subtle problems, we can talk about and deal with them. We split hairs over their definition and existence in the professional game we play. The words and concepts are ours; they are not nearly as important as getting a feeling for the differences between two radically different cultures.

It is a fallacy that the expert knows better what should happen to people than the people themselves

I also want to expose the fallacy that one knows better what should happen to people than the people themselves. It will become evident why in anthropology one learns to avoid, usually unsuccessfully, being an expert about American Indians. To be called an expert when

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there are any Indians around is an embarrassment to say the least. In fact, the whole concept of the expert – the idea that someone knows more about some large subject than the people who are themselves involved in that area of study – is part of the worst of American and Western European culture. For example, anyone who is an expert on education is presumed to be looked up to by teachers who are doing it every day. Being an expert, however, is a role that is given to some individuals and is much admired. Few people in the United States would ask whether I have done well by my children; these things are not so noteworthy.

I would not mind the concept of expertise so much except for the implication which is real and dangerous: I have found that as soon as I think I have learned something, I quit learning about it. One can rationalize, as we often do, "Well, I know this as of this moment but I am willing to listen to changes." But, in fact, one does not; when we are asked a question we convince ourselves that the answer we have given is reasonably good under the circumstances. We do this in class every day. Then other people pick it up and bounce it back to us and our having been quoted is what makes us an expert. It is not only that we have said it, but that someone said we said it that makes it important. And the learning experience is gone.

Why Do Anthropologists Do What They Do?

I am going to begin with portions of a letter which I had occasion to write this year to Professor George Spindler, educator and anthropologist at Stanford University. His students, probably many of whom were Indians were pressuring him to answer some of the criticisms that had been leveled against anthropologists. He wrote to me with the implicit plea, "What shall I tell my students?" He ostensibly wanted a defense. It gave me occasion to think about what antros have done. This is one area where I am a real expert; I have had 40 years of living with myself and with American Indians and I have become conscious over those years of what I was and was not doing, what my colleagues were and were not doing, and what I did and did not know. I did not feel that I should defend anthropologists; some of what we have done is indefensible with respect to American Indians. I preferred to explain why it is we do things wrong once in a while or why we do not do things right.

> Hindsight suggests that over the years anthropologists took Indians for granted, helping them as friends whenever they could; identifying with them completely at times; but by and large feeling that recording the culture was itself a service justifying their research . . . . Being with Indians only to learn from them was recognition of their value, and helped Indian morale. Missionaries and other do-gooders always required that Indians repay them by changing, anthropologists made no demands.
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> Until the late 1930's Indian communities were set in what to them was a generally satisfactory reservation culture. They had settled down to be left alone, and they generally preferred their isolation. Non-Indian organizations worked on their behalf; it is hard to discover now whether most of the Indians knew of or wanted the help of such organizations as the Indian Rights Association. When Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and John Collier established the "New Deal for Indians," more Indian participation followed, since the tribes had to vote on their own reorganization. The exercise exposed serious and bitter divisions within most tribes – divisions hitherto less significant (and kept to themselves) because they had nothing important to decide communally. It was in this period that self-consciousness, social problems, and political movements began. During this period anthropologists were heavily involved in these first benign attempts by our government to bring Indians out of their isolation and poverty . . . .
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> The immediate post World War II years saw (1) a reversal of the Collier federal policy of respect for Indian community cultures and reversion to a policy of "become like us or starve;" (2) the return of Indians from overseas service in World War II which was by far the greatest exposure in modern history to life outside isolated Indian communities; and (3) an increasing need by everybody in American society for participation in the cash economy, coupled with the beginning of a large increase in American Indian populations. It was difficult in most cases for Indian communities to retain their independence: people had to eat, pay for cars and gasoline to earn livings, and so on. The Indians, however, were not only isolated tribe by tribe, but within each, factionalism became more rather than less pronounced as community responses to social needs became more necessary.
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> It was precisely during this post-war period that anthropologists were least involved in Indian affairs. With the end of colonialism and the growth of U.S. power, the worlds of Africa, Asia, and Latin America came to occupy most of the attention of American anthropologists; our rapidly growing numbers were

Just when the American Indians needed help, the anthropologists were least involved

> under-proportionately occupied with American Indians, except perhaps to provide convenient spots to train students.
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> The result was that just when North American Indians needed our help most anthropologists were least involved. As the second half of the century unfolded, we maintained the original relationship established in different circumstances in the first third of the century . . . .
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> Anthropology in that post-war era was busy trying to develop positive "theory" to replace its humanistic, non-rigorous tradition of being mainly a corrective to the ethnocentrism characteristic of social sciences. In this thrust, with many students to train and place in the academic professions, the value of theory dominated more and more any "practical" or applied anthropology. I do not mention the exceptions that proved the rule, including the fact that the Society for Applied Anthropology survived and grew (but not proportionately) in this same period.
>
> American anthropologists were equally blind to other problems of our society during the '50's, as were most scholars and, of course, most citizens. It was only with the success of the civil rights rebellion and the successive youth and peace movements that anthropologists began to be shaken out of their isolation. The reaction of the people that the profession had ignored came to us as a surprise. We were especially hurt by the reaction of our friends among American Indians. Those of us who were "exceptions to the rule" were perhaps especially hurt, tarred as we were with a too inclusive brush. But we should not be surprised that we must share the collective responsibility; and anyway the most action-oriented of us did not do enough. No individual's lifetime could provide the time and energy to do enough under the circumstances.

No individual's lifetime could provide the time and energy to do enough

This letter provides background to the developments in anthropology which bore on the discipline's influence among the Indians. I will continue with some personal history which relates to my learning experiences through my work in anthropology. I believe it worthwhile to give you this autobiographical information because, if there is any hope at all, it may provide insights to others who will not go through the same process but who may be able to acquire, in some second-hand way, the empathy and attitude which comes naturally to someone who has had this type of experience and which is necessary for anyone working with American Indians.

As an undergraduate student in anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, I was involved in student affairs. Although we did not have long hair, we ran our mimeograph machines, did the equivalent of picketing, and undertook other political activities. There was no doubt in my mind that I would take advantage of an opportunity to change anything that was around me into something better. I think this would incapsulate the difference between Indian culture and Western European culture more than anything else. Why should one want to change the world? The world was here before the individual was here and it is going to be here a long time after. This is an attitude of mind which we have that is deserving of emphasis. We do not have the notion that anything is necessarily good simply because it exists. It always seems possible that something could be done with the world (every part of it) to make it better. This is a radical view; maybe it is not shared by all of us equally. I was at one end of the scale in our culture as I grew up. However, I would not even have been aware of this or able to write this if I had not had a number of years of experience with the Indian culture. I did learn from Indians who I was by contrast, and in that way came to understand what the difference was.

Why should one want to change the world?

For some reason which I cannot explain, when I went into graduate school, my activism ceased and I settled down to learn anthropology. There was a period of about ten years when my wanting to change the world was sublimated (or the opposite) into wanting to change anthropological theory. During this period, I had my first fieldwork experience with American Indians. I received a fellowship to go to the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation in New Mexico with a field party of half a dozen colleagues under the direction of Professor Ruth Benedict. Most of what I remember from that experience is sitting and taking notes. I only learned what they told me in answer to the questions I asked; I did not learn about Indians.

Our Interests or Indian Interests

Few of my anthropological colleagues or professors really knew anything about the Indians they had been studying. Most of these people were skimming off the anthropological cream by asking questions of our interest, not the Indian's interest. It is remarkable how little one learns when you ask the questions, wait for the answers, and go on to the next question. I will give you the extreme example, the nature of a professional anthropologist and his prejudices which keeps him from seeing things as they are. When I was preparing to do research for my PhD thesis among the Mesquakie (Sac-Fox) Indians in Iowa, I wrote to the anthropologist who had worked there before. It was a polite and useful thing to do. I said I was going to study the social organization of the Mesquakie. He had been there for twenty years collecting data, writing down things about their religion, and publishing lots of little technical books which the Bureau of American Ethnology printed. He wrote back to me saying, "You can go there if you want to, but the social organization is gone." *The social organization is gone.* To me, if there is a group of people, you have some social organization. What he meant was that some picture he had in his mind of what he thought it ought to have been in the past had changed into something else which he was not interested in. I cannot emphasize too much that the problems the anthropologist is interested in are not usually the problems which interest Indians. There is some overlap, but not too much.

The problems which interest anthropologists are not usually the problems which interest Indians

During the summer of 1932 I went to do fieldwork with the Mesquakies. I went to the Mesquakies not to do anything about the Mesquakies, but to do something about learning a kinship system. I was alone then, and my exposure was greater than when I was with a group; I had to get to know the Indians better. But as I look back, I see that I did not come to know them very well. However, I did talk with them, and we must have talked in part about what they wanted to talk about because when I went there I did not know they had political factions. I learned about these factions from the Indians who spoke about them much of the time. Like a good anthropologist, I listened to what they said, and I learned the kinship system in their terms. But I tried to relate it to anthropology, not to the Indians.

I returned to the Fox in 1934, finished my PhD, and then went to Guatemala. I very soon discovered that kinship was not important there, so I turned to the economy and other aspects of their culture instead. I found their economy to be very much like the one that I had been brought up to understand; that is, they were very economically oriented peasants and still are. The small peddlers, market people, and others all are trying to earn money. They are a people who worry about the future. There is a sense of individual responsibility, a notion of getting ahead of the game so that you have something for your children, and so on. In other words, among these peasant people I found little to contrast with my own way of life, and interestingly enough I did not make the contrast with North American Indians. I had never learned this about them; I may have assumed it, but I never made it explicit in my mind that the American Indian, unlike me, is not economically oriented. It was not until I came back to North America to work with Indians again that even this simple revelation came upon me. Despite four summers of rather intimate contact with American Indians, I had not even begun to understand what we might call their "psychology." I understood some externals of their culture, and I was not wrong in what I wrote about them. But this only shows that there are many things one can learn about a culture or a community without understanding what makes the people tick.

There are many things one can learn about a culture without understanding what makes the people tick

It was not until 1946 when I returned to the Fox, fifteen years after my first contact with American Indians, that my education about Indians, and therefore a changed view of myself, really began. I had not noticed a contrast between the Guatamalans and myself because they were so much like myself. Since I had not noticed the contrast between the Indians and myself earlier, it was not likely that I would have noticed it between two groups of Indians. However, I cannot say that those years of experience and thinking were wasted – they may have made possible what was to come.

In 1943 I wrote a paper on "Anthropology and Administration" (*Documentary History of the Fox Project*, pp. 15-24) in which I indicated the return of my social consciousness. Until then the idealistic social leanings of my youth had been sublimated into creativity in anthropology rather than social affairs. Although in large degree I had separated anthropology and action through those years, as soon as we became involved with the Fox project, I reverted radically. In part this was due to external circumstances, namely the war. Hitler's regime destroyed any thoughts that everything was right with the world and that there could not be wicked people. Also, in part, another younger generation was influencing me. I came back to the university from Guatemala during the war and for three or four years I was in contact with students who were pressing me to become an activist again. Furthermore, the motivation for the Indians had changed; thus, the change in me was also related to the change in them.

When we began the Fox project, the question arose as to whether one could deal with their problems. It was evident when I said yes that another part of me had come back. As soon as this happened, I could no longer deal with Indians in the traditional anthropological way. I could no longer deal in the abstract with their kinship system or other aspects of their culture or with information I could gather from interviews and then put together at home on paper. I had to deal with them as human beings, as Indians trying to do things they were unable to do; in short, I had to deal with their problems. As soon as there were some obvious problems, so obvious that you could not hide them (which there were not when I was first there in the early thirties), you had to deal with human beings, not just cultures. When you are dealing with human beings and human problems, then you have to pull out what is relevant in your tool box that might be useful in a particular situation, and then you begin to learn some kind of subtler anthropology.

Learning to relate to human beings, not just cultures

It is For the Indian to Decide

As soon as we began to deal with the Indians in an action-oriented way, the question that arose was if we are trying to help these Indians, what do we want to become of them? Do we want them to become assimilated into American life or do we want them to find ways to preserve their culture while on the reservation? Initially the students were divided on this, and it was not until we all returned to the university and had continuing discussions during the year that we finally realized that the answer was simple – it was not for us to make the decision about what should become of Indians. We could only provide realistic alternatives so that if any individual Indian or a whole community wanted to enter American society, it could be done with decency from their point of view. On the other hand, if they wanted to remain on the reservation, that too could be done with decency from their point of view. The problem was that they were not offered alternatives that made for a life which was tolerable to them as individuals or as a community. This was the first lesson I learned either from or about Indians, and it is one that most people still do not seem to have learned. In general, the "expert" is seen as the one who knows better what should happen to people than the people themselves.

It is not totally surprising that we learned this in connection with American Indians because this is part of Indian culture. It is not part of the culture I grew up with, and it is not part of the culture that most Americans grow up with. Live and let live; let people decide for themselves how to do what they want to do. This is rather Bohemian in our culture. In dealing with Indians, apparently we absorbed something from them, even though we thought we had thought of it ourselves. From that time on, I began to learn more and more from Indians, and everything I have learned from them is somehow connected with what is peculiar to American Indian culture in contrast to middle-class culture. Not only is their type of culture probably much more widespread in the world, it is also in opposition to much of what is established in our culture, and thus rebels against our establishment.

Learning from Indians – a clash of cultures

I remember, however, how innocent I continued to be. Everything had to be learned step by step. My students and I had painfully learned the lesson that it was the Indian's choice as to what they wanted to become or what they wanted for their children. But this was with the assumption that sooner or later, it was only a matter of time, Indians would melt into the general American culture. This was the melting pot theory which is part of American life, and it should not be surprising that we accepted this as an inevitable process.

In 1950 I visited the Southwest for the first time since I had begun to notice, instead of study, Indians. I particularly remember passing through the Hopi mesas. Whereas the Fox are relatively acculturated, the Hopi are thought of as being very Indian. They have lived far out in the desert for hundreds of years, whereas the Fox have lived right in the midst of middle-class farming society for hundreds of years. However, what struck me about the Hopi when I got to know them was their similarity with the Fox. Just because the Fox wear trousers or look like Iowa farmers, just because some of them speak English, why did I assume that it is any sign of inculturation? It dawned on me that if the Hopi were the famous people who had not changed, and if the Fox had not changed either, then how could one assume that it was inevitable that they would change? As soon as the question is asked, you can begin to notice a great number of other peoples around the world who have not merged simply because they were in contact. The Chinese became agriculturalists as did the Europeans, but despite all the processes of civilization, the cultural differences between East and West have not merged.

Melting the Melting Pot

This second insight may not seem new now, but in 1950 it received a remarkable reaction when we presented it at the Central States Anthropological Society meeting in Columbus, Ohio. I took two of my students with me, one of whom had been working at Fort Berthold and another who had been working with the Fox, and we gave a set of three papers. I gave a paper on "Acculturation" (*Documentary History of the Fox Project*, pp. 171-176), and the students each presented a case study, one of Fort Berthold and the other of the Fox. We discussed why so-called acculturation or assimilation is not a necessary consequence of contact. We had a whole session to ourselves, and after about forty-five minutes of discussion with our colleagues in anthropology, I finally realized that they did not understand what we were saying. In fact, it finally came out that they were assuming that we could not possibly be saying that assimilation will *never* occur. Assuming that assimilation is inevitable, they thought we were only arguing that it takes place slowly. This was a lesson to me about American culture and how deeply this idea is held.

A few months later I went to a conference in Washington called by the Association on American Indian Affairs. Congressmen, members of the Indian Bureau, and others were invited in an attempt to get help for Indians. Many Indians from all over the country were also brought to the conference, as well as a number of leading anthropologists in the field of Indian affairs. It was called a Conference on Assimilation and the message from the beginning was assimilation is inevitable, but please do not make it so fast that it hurts. Indians from the Southwest and the Northwest dutifully made speeches for the congressmen and others, all of them saying that of course assimilation is inevitable, but take into account the fact that it will take time. The Indians themselves were saying this.

Finally, I could not stand it any longer, so I spoke safely and briefly. The point I made was that as an anthropologist with experience I did not see any reason to believe that assimilation is inevitable. There is no reason to believe that any of the American Indian cultures cannot exist as long as any other cultures in the world. When you say assimilation is inevitable, you are expressing a value judgment, not simply making a prediction, because then you can immediately say that some cultures are farther along the road than others, some are more progressive and some are more backward, as if there is an inevitable goal toward which we are all marching.

There is no reason to believe that assimilation is inevitable

Unlike my colleagues in anthropology who did not understand that point, the Indians, one after another, just as though they had lifted off a big burden, immediately outlawed the word assimilation. Somebody had told them that it did not have to happen which legitimized what they had felt all along but somehow had been constrained from saying. A long debate among the others followed, but never thereafter, as far as I know, did Indians admit that assimilation was inevitable. That which had been so important to Americans had been adopted by the Indians who did not really believe it. They talked to whites this way because in a sense it was their way of showing respect; it amounted to saying, "Of course we want to be like you." So again I learned a little more about Indians, how they behave, why they behave the way they do, and the fact that they really do not believe in assimilation and that whites do. The basic problem is simply the belief on the part of whites that Indians are just a temporary problem which will disappear and the reaction of the Indians by either withdrawing, doing nothing at all, or by simply living with it. Again we learned the lesson that Indians have a culture which is in a deep sense very different from white culture. However, a relationship was established which hid both differences and similarities, and we were dealing with a difficult social psychological relationship.

Understanding the real problem involves knowing the interpretation of history that you discover has always been the Indians' interpretation of history. The Indians saw that the white man was trying to change them in a way they did not want to be changed. The fact that I had to learn it from Indians does not mean that the Indians did not always know it, whether implicitly, explicitly, by instinct, by tradition, or whatever. Of course the Indians

The Indian has always understood the problem of his relation to whites knew this and were acting on the basis of it. It is just that none of us knew it. Now the present problem of American Indians then becomes obvious – it is 200 million white Americans who are still doing the same thing.

The Bias of History

Recently I have written a Forward to a book, *This Country Was Ours*, by Virgil Vogel. He has been working on American Indian history and has become immersed in the Indian point of view, as so many of us have. The question the book poses is, how do you correct the terrible biases that you get when all the history that anyone ever reads in this country is written completely and entirely on one side of the fence? In the early days when anyone counted Indians, he was counting how many braves he had killed. The account of Custer's battle or any of these things is always done from the point of view of someone who is personally involved and interested. The original data, first hand data, comes from people who are being defensive about what they have done, or have a point to make, or are doing it for money or any other reason that you can imagine. Historians have accepted this; they should have said there is no history of the American frontier because we do not have data from both sides. Any law court would insist that a defense attorney call some witnesses for his client or they would not think it right. But over the years historians have permitted themselves (not only and obviously with Indians, but with blacks, Mexicans, and with every other kind of people) to go on with one side of the story which is utterly false on principle. In details you have to spell out all the individual faults of each case, but on principle it is as utterly false a one-sided history by interested persons as you would expect to find. And you would not pay any attention to it if it were not written up in good history books that you read from the time you are a child in school. This Forward [excerpted here] represents the fruition of my thoughts after 41 years of deliberation.

When the victims rise to show themselves

> Why write of guilt? Great nations, surely empires, are built on the destruction of peoples and cultures. Those who survive often think this natural and inevitable, and indeed the survival of the fittest, and so are able to put aside the unjust and immoral behavior of forebears even as they enjoy the profits. But the peoples and cultures "left for dead" on the wayside have not died; and the descendants of those "fittest" whose guilt seemed safely buried with the ashes find that the ashes are embers which burst into flames because the moral values in the culture have never changed. The fittest of earlier days were only at that time the strongest; and our culture never has accepted that "might makes right." So there is no denying the evidence of past wrongs when the victims rise to show themselves.

The white man's behavior continues unchanged

> This is the whole story of our "Original Sin" – what we have done to the peoples who were living in North America when the Europeans first crossed the Atlantic. Had they followed the "inevitable" path to disappearance (which Europeans convinced themselves was prescribed by history and justified their occupation of the continent) this story would still have been worth the telling. But it is *necessary* to relate because the Indians are not only still here, and growing in numbers and in identification with their tribal forebears, but it is we – 200 million non-Indian Americans in the 1970's – who are behaving still as our forebears did, still taking from them the driblets of land they have left, and living by the same rationalizations. But what may have seemed then to be a necessary evil, is now a series of unmitigated unnecessary evils which rise in part from the continued avarice of a few, and in larger part from the psychological need now to hide the enormity of our earlier sin. By no stretch of the imagination is it now economically or politically necessary to deny to Indians what they need and ask for:
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>> "When Indians speak of the continent they yielded, they are not referring only to the loss of some millions of acres of real estate. They have in mind that the land supported a universe of things they knew, valued, and loved.
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>> "With that continent gone, except for the few poor parcels they still retain, the basis of life is held, but they mean to hold the scraps and parcels as earnestly as any small nation or ethnic group was ever determined to hold to identity and survival.
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>> "What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action.
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>> "In short, the Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed, however long that may be, to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land. [*Declaration of Indian Purpose*, American Indian Chicago Conference; Chicago, Illinois; June, 1961.]"

From Plymouth Rock to Alcatraz Island

We have the wealth and the technology, and could garner the wisdom with the help of the Indians themselves, to do precisely that. With our growing urbanization, we are vacating again almost the whole of the continent. We no longer "need" all that land and are only misuing it as we once misused the people who treated it as sacred. Yet in November of 1969 when a small group who symbolically represented "Indians of All Tribes" occupied the rocky island of Alcatraz as a symbol of Indian repossession of what to the whiteman is barren wasteland (but to the Indian part of a sacred heritage for which they can also find practical use), we could not bring ourselves to give it to them. Over the winter of 1969 the governments in Washington and Sacramento, and the press and public, enthusiastically applauded the Indian initiative and moved happily to make a priceless (and costless) gesture; but in the end the "higher" need to support law and order prevailed; a single small illegal act could not be condoned. From Plymouth Rock, where we had been welcomed, we had moved ruthlessly across the continent; I presume it would have exposed to ourselves our own enormous illegality to have accepted the Indian right to the last rock on the other shore. One newspaper suggested, the day after the first landing, that the federal government simply give the "Indians of All Tribes" a permit to stay on the island. So simple a solution might have changed the course of American thought, making it thereafter unnecessary to oppose restitutive acts.

So much for the hangup of at least the leadership of 200 million non-Indian Americans. Suppose we now recognize our irrational block and determine not to let it interfere any longer with intelligent policy – what else would be involved?

It is understandable that when well-meaning non-Indians propose remedies for poverty and disease based on policies supporting individual freedom, equality, and autonomy, they are surprised and disappointed at the reaction of the Indians they hope to benefit. Pluralism has in recent years become an American value in the context of protecting what have become religious and ethnic voluntary organizations to which individuals may choose to belong. Tribal people are hurt more than helped by policies based on values of individualism, if only because they alienate their wellwishers. Moreover, they have long since tired of trying vainly to explain, much less defend, what is to them life itself.

The highest value in tribal society is harmony

Our conviction that not the tribe but rather the individual, or the family while children are small, is the building block of society, is the source of the threat that keeps Indian communities from trusting any plans at all that the whiteman offers. The enemy most feared is not the avarice of white neighbors and their power in government, which exacerbates their impoverishment; these and all injustices – and vain "promises" – they have borne with incredible patience. More difficult to bear is the divisiveness and factionalism which result from the threats and promises. The highest value in a tribal society is harmony, and life without it must be painful enough to induce more destructive behavior.

It is evident that to continue marching in circles in our historic blind alley will help neither us nor the Indian people. It is therefore past time, but never too late, to assume that Indian people will prefer that we expiate our sins by stopping our sinning now, and that they will want far less than we fear. Probably they want and need only genuine autonomy with community security, which will remove the obstacles to their finding their own way in this new environment. As they adapted to the widest variety of environments during the thousands of years before Columbus came (and as late at the 18th century autonomous tribes adjusted to the coming of horses, fur traders, and new goods; and Iroquois tribes have recently discovered that high steel construction crews are not unlike the hunting bands of old), so the people of a secure and autonomous tribe may more readily than we now imagine adapt economic opportunities to tribal ways.

To accomplish tribal autonomy requires that we begin with it and ask Indians, tribe by tribe, how we should replace some of the assets which once made it possible for tribes to live. From what I have learned from them, the answer of many Indian communities might be, in words they would surely improve:

What the Indian might want

"To maintain the special relationship that has always existed among our nations and the sovereign government of the United States, and to symbolize and make possible tribal autonomy,

"1. Assign title to unused Federal lands, where feasible and where wanted, taxfree and in irrevocable trust, to our individual communities;

"2. Establish for each community a capital trust fund, the non-taxable income from which will provide in perpetuity such services as health, education, and welfare; and, "3. Maintain the Bureau of Indian Affairs as long as tribes and communities will financially support from the income of the trust fund its banking, management, and service facilities in preference to those of private and non-profit corporations."

The Impossible Choice

From the beginning of our history on this continent we have made it difficult for Indians to continue to live as Indians. We took away their means of making a living as Indians and offered them this difficult choice: maintain your communities and live in terms of Indian values or, if you cannot feed yourselves that way in our competitive, utilitarian, impersonal society, change into white men, leave your communities and your values, stop living in ways you think proper, and then you can eat and have the things you need. It was an act of will that the American Indians generally have rejected the choice, an act of will of which they should feel proud. They chose the way of our fathers who left Europe in small ships to face unknown hazards and hardships, rather than submit to tyranny or violation of conscience. What is no less important is that we still offer them only the impossible choice – live like white men or not at all – and that they still refuse.

The Indians neither sink nor swim; they float

To resolve the problem (which is our problem) we say, "Keep your culture, if you will, but not at our expense." Impatiently, we throw them into the water to sink or to swim. But the Indians, stubbornly, neither sink nor swim, they float. They retreat into themselves, unable to explain that they cannot and will not be like us – that would be discourteous and aggressive and not in good behavior. They plead silently for understanding, patience, and help. And the help that we give them is offered as charity in paternalistic spirit, forcing them, in order to live, to leave the independence which is their traditional heritage and the birthright of every community. Outsiders manage their affairs because they cannot pay for their community schools and hospitals and they are not allowed to manage them. Then we complain that they do not know how. Indian tribes have from time immemorial managed the most difficult community decisions and have done so with consumate skill. Otherwise, they would not have survived. They could do it now if we let them do it in their own way.

Our society may not survive unless we learn to live in harmony

Indian culture is the basic identification with fundamental values and beliefs that have come down from the past in each Indian nation. These are fundamental values, just as the values of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin are living guides to us today in spite of the fact that we have moved from an agricultural horse and buggy style of life to one that is in many ways far richer. Identification is the most important thing that Indians have. And it is the most important resource that we have which shows us another way of life that has its advantages. Indian culture gives us something to learn which we are rapidly losing by our extreme technological, instrumental way of dealing with people. In fact, we may not be able to survive as a society unless we learn from Indians (and some other people) how to really get along with people in this world. They learned that as an art, understood it, and maintained their cultures together in harmony when they were allowed to do it freely without outside interference. They learned to do it and they are the ones who might teach us how to do it. But we never give them a chance, we never are in a position to learn their ways. Because even when we have let them, it is always in a context where somehow or other we are trying to teach them our ways. Even that should be done within the context of saying that the Indian ought to learn about this monstrous society that is here (without suggesting that he accept it) in order to defend himself against it, if necessary.

Let Them Do It for Themselves

What needs to be done to protect Indian communities is to help them protect their small remaining land base, which is their tribe, help them provide a means to earn a living and to maintain health and education, help them to do what needs to be done, help them with money and skills, but let them do it for themselves. We shall prove ourselves wise enough to run their lives only when we find ways to let them run their own. But we have to provide some replacement for the confidence which we took from them until they, as communities, can freely invent means to adjust to this new environment of the white man as once they adjusted to changes in nature.

If we can work this miracle of human relations as we have worked miracles of technology, our reward will be great. First, we shall have resolved the problem which weighs heavily on our hearts and consciences; secondly, we shall have breathed new life into communities that are paralyzed, and we shall witness a rebirth of Indian culture. Our great reward, if we help American Indian communities to develop freely in their own full directions, will be that we shall see a renaissance of Indian culture changing with the times, but remaining Indian.

OVERVIEW

The Classroom, College, and Conflict

Can two cultures meet on common ground?

by
Estelle
Fuchs

The basic questions in Indian education will ultimately be solved by Indian people and will have to be worked through by Indian people. Let me state my position, however, as a non-Indian working in the field of Indian education.

Dialogue with Indians is absolutely essential. However, since non-Indians have been those in positions of power and control over what has been happening to Indian peoples, it behooves us to talk to each other about what we have done, what we are doing, and what we have to do. Just as Indians know they must have dialogue with one another to work out their problems, so it is true that the white or non-Indian groups have to talk with one another about the kinds of things they have to do. We do have a legitimate right to look at the issues in Indian education, to think about them, to talk about them, and to write about them. We have our problems to work through in order to rectify past paternalism. It is no longer possible, honest, or acceptable for outsiders to dictate Indian educational policy. But if we are to take the position that Indians must control their own destiny, then the larger society must also assume responsibility to see that this is possible. We cannot just let the whole matter drop – let financial aid drop, let all moral responsibility drop, remain uninformed, and reverse our now growing service relationship to one of abandonment. For these reasons I participated in the National Study of American Indian Education, an Office of Education major research effort, because I saw Americans – both Indians and non-Indians – requiring the overview and information that such a study could develop.

According to the United States Census, there are some 850,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts in this country. The Indians are thought and have always been thought to be a vanishing people. It has been convenient not to see them. They are, however, a rapidly growing population. The census estimates are not accepted by many Indians who feel that it is an underestimate.

Of these 850,000 Indians, the federal government has specific, clearcut, historical, legal responsibilities for one-third to one-half. These responsibilities are to Indians living on or near reservations and having one-fourth or more – and this is a terrible definition because it is meaningless – Indian "blood." What they mean is one grandparent. Obviously, this fails to include under direct federal responsibility a great number of Indians who live in cities or places which are no longer federal reserves.

Federal Responsibilities

How does the federal government meet its educational responsibilities which stem from tradition and legal obligations? One important way is through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, which finances Indian education on or near reservations. Another is through funding to state public systems.

The BIA maintains a federal school system including boarding schools, which are usually high schools off reservations, and elementary schools, usually on but with some off reservations. Current policy reflects the discomfort of the federal government in running schools since education generally is a state function. Because of the preference for state control of education and because it has generally sought to "get out of the Indian business," the federal government has been financing more and more Indian education through the regular public schools. Increasingly, the students going to college will be products of a public

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More Indian youngsters now attend public schools than BIA schools

school education rather than a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school education. More Indian youngsters now attend the public schools than they do the BIA schools. Money is spent for the Indian students through various laws: Public Laws 815 and 845 and Johnson-O'Mally funds. Johnson-O'Mally funding is BIA money given to public schools to educate Indians for whom the federal government has direct responsibility. The federal government is also financing several contract schools including the Ramah High School in New Mexico, the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona, and one in Montana, the Rocky Boy School. These schools are able to attract nationally recruited staffs. The BIA is now pursuing a limited policy in this direction, no longer experimental, so there is an opportunity for a tribal group to get money directly from the Bureau to run its own school on a contract basis. Johnson-O'Mally funds make this possible.

Increasingly, it must be emphasized, Indians are not the responsibility of the BIA, and many Indians never were directly the responsibility of the BIA. For example, what happens to Indians who are not on reservations? When an Indian family moves to Chicago, away from Pine Ridge or whatever, unless they get back, which they do not often do, or unless the children get back, the children lose their BIA status. If you go through the massive documents of the urban Indian hearings that were held two years ago, over and over again urban Indians are saying, "They ask me when I go for a scholarship, 'What's your reservation?' What reservation? I'm an Indian, but I live in San Francisco. I don't have a reservation." But that means they are no longer eligible for scholarship money for college under the ordinary bureaucratic procedures which no longer consider them federal Indians. Increasingly, militant urban Indians have been demanding federal services.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been getting involved in the field of Indian education. HEW does provide funds for Indians. Most of the funding is allocated under the various titles in the National Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Largely the monies are dispensed for anti-poverty programs. Until recently, when Indians began to exert greater political influence in Washington, this meant that once one is no longer a reservation Indian, then he is in competition with other minorities among the urban poor for these federal monies. Being relatively small, relatively invisible, and relatively non-aggressive politically, this has generally meant that the Indians have had to come up the back stretch.

There is a mass of complexity in federal aid to various Native American groups related to particular historical experience, different states, and different locales. There are several hundred groups with as many languages and traditions who have thousands of different things happening to them. Native Americans are a very heterogeneous group of people with very heterogeneous relationships to the federal and state governments.

WHAT KINDS OF SCHOOLS ARE INDIAN children attending? The National Study of American Indian Education saw many different schools across the country. There was tremendous variety and yet tremendous similarity – large urban public school systems such as Chicago and Los Angeles; small rural all-Indian schools; small rural Indian-Anglo schools; boarding schools; all-Indian BIA elementary schools; all types of schools. There was a similarity that anyone who looks across the country would see, and that is: a school is a school, is a school. In the Head Start school in Bethel, Alaska, children are doing, "Where is Pointer, where is Pointer? Here I am, here I am." Walk into a third grade classroom in Montana or North Dakota and there is the *Weekly Reader*. With few exceptions there are the same curriculums, the same wall displays, the same arrangements of chairs, and the same kinds of teachers.

Among all varieties of schools across the nation, there are alarming similarities including an absence of cultural awareness

Why is this similarity so evident? There are very good reasons for this. Most teachers are trained in teacher education institutes which are rather alike throughout the country. Most books are purchased from the large publishers, and they are distributed throughout the country. Another similarity that pervades the schools is the absence of cultural awareness on the part of the teachers. This is not to downgrade teachers. Teachers are people. Teachers teach with the same problem that all people have: they think the world is basically fashioned after their own conception of it. Their conception might, in fact, be very nice; it might be awful. Without passing judgment, the facts of life are different – the world is not so.

Teachers are also very dedicated to egalitarianism. They are devoted to the American ideal of equal opportunity for each according to his ability. They are so egalitarian that they refuse to see differences, generally speaking. School teachers throughout this country will say to you, "Oh, my Indian pupils? (They will say the same thing about their black pupils.) I do not see black, white, yellow, or red. I see *children*."

Not seeing differences in people denies them the right to be what they are

Each of you have heard this, you may even have said it: "I am dedicated to the notion that this country is designed to give everyone an equal chance, and I refuse to see differences because differences mean prejudice." What teachers do not see is that this is precisely the opposite. Not seeing differences denies people the right to be what they are, if they do not happen to be what you are. This is exactly the case in American schools, because most of the teachers are non-Indian. Most Indian children will have to come out of an experience in which the fact that they are Indian is ignored in their formal education in the school system.

Proud to be Indian

What does this have to do with self-concept? The National Study included a finding which is significant. Ordinarily, when talking to educators, especially in counseling, one is struck by their belief that they have to raise the self-concept of minority peoples, that minority people have poor self-concepts and have to be given better self-concepts. Contrary to this view, the National Study found that Indian youngsters as a group had fine self-concepts, that they know they are Indian even if others do not. They are proud of being Indian and they are not hung-up about being Indian. The thing that bothers them is that nobody else seems to know that they are Indian.

Another positive finding was ascertained in regard to mental health. The Study did not find the type of mental health problems that people assume, especially in relation to suicides. The notion that Indians are killing themselves is very widely held in this country. There are episodes of suicide; like hijacking, it comes in batches. The findings showed the suicide rate for Indians, on the whole, is the same – higher by possibly two-tenths of a point – as the suicide rate for the total American population. The suicide rate for Indians over 45 is lower than that of the non-Native American population, and the suicide rate for Indian women is lower than the suicide rate for white women. The suicide rate for adult Indian males between 19 and 45 is slightly higher. But this is certainly not evidence of a serious mental health problem. It is evidence of problems, but the report does not confirm the notion that there is a mental health problem among American Indians.

Why Low Academic Achievement?

The Study did confirm that academic achievement, on the whole, is low. Why? Indians are as intelligent, if not more so, than anybody else. There is good evidence for that based on the most sophisticated tests we know. The statistics are affected by the fact that large numbers of Indian children, in certain parts of the country, do come to school without the knowledge of English. They are, in most places, taught in English in the first grade! The Bureau schools have a beginners' language class. Most of the public schools completely ignore the Indian languages. In recent years some money from the Bilingual Education Act has been filtering down to some of these schools and they have begun programs. Most of the money is channeled to the Southwest.

Teachers do cruel things to students when they cut them off from their original language

Educators are not very knowledgeable about bilingual education. It is certainly more humane to teach people to read in the language they know. There is some evidence that children do better in the long run when they learn to read in their native language first. There is some indirect evidence that knowing more than one language is very stimulating to the brain and to cognition senses. People who learn with two languages seem to be ahead of those who think only in one language. While none of these findings is definitive, it remains evident that teachers inadvertently can do very cruel things to people when they cut them off from their original language.

Indian youngsters tend to be overaged in grades, and their academic achievement is retarded partially by this language factor. Besides starting out behind academically, Indians go to schools which do not meet them where they are. Also, as mentioned earlier, teachers often ignore their presence. They may know them as John or Mary but they are like everybody else – they are not considered as Indians. The teacher may say, "Mary, will you come up to the board and do this." If Mary is a Hopi, she may be embarrassed to do that because that is putting herself above her fellow students. In many Indian communities to be publicly better than your peers is to be *gauche*. Also, "John you are getting a zero because you cheated on that test. You looked at Tom's paper." If you are good buddies in some Indian communities, however, that is what proper behavior dictates you do; you come to a consensus about the answer. We call that cheating: "Can't do anything with those Indian kids. They cheat!" An Indian child can be taught very quickly not to "cheat," but he also learns to turn off where this interferes with acceptable peer relations. Tempo is also an important factor. Part of it is rural, part of it is Indian. One takes one's time because the object is not to get the thing done rapidly, but the object is to get it done accurately. An Indian child may answer five questions out of twenty, get the five right, but be told that he failed because our testing is tuned to speed. And our schools emphasize the objective of getting the best mark.

Our teachers mean well. The National Study did not find as much overt prejudice as people might expect. Most teachers come willing and interested after their teacher education. Most of them, however, have not had any specific training for working in the Indian communities. Practically none have training in bilingual education, in cultural awareness, in how to learn about the Indian community, or how to learn about the children in their classroom.

Training programs should concentrate on informing teachers of ways to find out about the Indian community

The tendency, too, if one is working in an Indian community, is to leave for the weekend. The teacher does not get to know the people very well because social life gravitates around the Anglo teaching community. So the "compound culture" which exists in most of these Indian communities is a very exaggerated version of the compound culture in urban communities where the teaching staff is totally separated physically and socially from the ghetto people. Teacher training institutes might do better to spend time on "how to find out" rather than what the teacher is supposed to do. What one is supposed to do will have to be adapted from place to place.

INCREASINGLY, INDIAN YOUNGSTERS are completing secondary school and going on to college. The Native Americans who do come to college will be many different kinds of people. They are nonetheless likely to have certain things in common. First of all, most Indian students going to college will get there because they have been recruited. If there is no program of recruitment, one cannot suddenly expect the college doors to be assailed by Indian students. If a college wants an Indian program, it must commit itself to establishing a recruitment procedure which involves the use of Indian recruiters. Studies of American college students show that most people go to a college because a friend suggested they go with them or they know somebody who was at that college. When one person goes it is easier for the next. Most Indian students will be first generation college students. They will not come from families with college experience and they are likely to be the first in their families – the first sibling, the first cousin – to have gone off to college. Therefore, they do not come knowing the ropes. They have not only to be encouraged and made to feel that it is possible to succeed and that they are wanted, but conditions must exist to facilitate the college experience.

If a school has no plan specifically geared to help Indian students, the school should not recruit them

If a school has no plan specifically geared to insure the successful college experience of the Indian students, that college should not recruit Indian students simply because there might be money for such a program. There must be a complete program. There is no one type of program or formula which is guaranteed to work, but increasing experience is giving us more and more of what does not work. It is very difficult to formulate a plan that guarantees success.

The University of Oregon, for example, has had some revealing experiences. They found many terminated Indians and Indians from urban areas coming to their school. They found that youngsters recruited directly out of high school were very different from more mature people who had had several years of experience outside of high school. One of the complaints was that recruiters were going after the recent high school graduates and ignoring the older students. There are large numbers of Indian people – veterans, people who have worked around – who are in their middle to late twenties and ready to move into a serious college experience. Many of those people are ignored by recruiters, and that is something higher education has to work out. Educators must decide how they wish to work with these groups because each segment requires a different kind of attention.

There are other realistic problems – money. On the whole, there are exceptions of course, Indians are very poor. Tribal and federal scholarships help some students, but they do not fully overcome general poverty. Often Indian students do not come with a library, with an electric typewriter, with a hi-fi set, with stationery. They do not come with all that supplementary equipment. They come with themselves. Not only do they come with themselves, but they come terribly burdened with the sense that they have obligations to other people because they come out of extended kin groups which need their financial assistance.

The Tutoring Relationship

One must not make the assumption that all Indians entering college are academically retarded. Many of the students coming to college will be as advanced as others. But they may be behind, especially if they have come from isolated, rural backgrounds and have come to college out of an experience which is different from the other students at that particular college. Academic achievement is also affected by those factors one would anticipate – poverty, migrant situations, language, and health. Therefore, some may not have the same informational background as other students. Many of them will need assistance. The standard procedure in many programs is to provide a tutor. We have forgotten, however, what a real tutor is. We think of tutoring as making up for retardation. We think of it as a stigma. And yet if we go back to the past, tutoring was considered the best way to learn – a one to one relationship. It is a positive situation.

Tutorials for Indian students should not be viewed as making up for retardation, they should be viewed as advancement. Ideally, tutors should not be people working only out of the goodness of their hearts. They should be people with skill, competence, and ability. They should be paid for their work. Anything else is the same old "I'm doing you a favor." Other students may be involved in tutoring, but if they are not skillful and if they really do not have much to offer, then they should not be inflicted on Native Americans. While white students have a great deal to learn in working with Indian students, it would be unfortunate if tutoring should be viewed primarily as an experience for the white students. The tutoring should be seen as moving the Indian student more rapidly through his college work because he has started from behind and he has to sprint to move ahead.

A Different Cultural Base

The notions of progress, achievement, and conquering nature which are so much a part of Western society, world-view and, necessarily, university life, often clash with some Indian peoples' view of the world as more circular. Past, present, and future are not linearly arranged for them but circularly arranged. In this view life is not seen as a progression forward, but rather as a maintenance of harmony with the world – a kind of ecological orientation, in today's terms, which many people are finding compatible even with Western society. Certainly it is very different from the Judeo-Christian view of the nature of the world.

I do not want to exaggerate the significance of this difference in world view, however. It is very tempting to say that it is the basic difference. I accept that Indian cultural traditions are different. Indians have developed societies in the New World outside of the Western experience. We have lost many insights into the nature of learning, of being, and of growing old because we have ignored the learning of the peoples of the New World. The reason for caution in this interpretation is that while this may be good strong cultural tradition that has survived, it also is sometimes confused with the economic class position of Indian people. If you are very poor, one of the adjustments to poverty is a strong dependence on kinfolk because they are the ones who sustain you. The rest of the world kicks you most of the time, but you can depend on kinfolk. Not all peoples have moved into a dependence on the welfare state as individuals. For many people in this society, the extended kingroup is still a viable functioning unit and is the welfare system – both emotional and economic. Within this group what does going to college mean? It could and has been construed in the past to mean that one is stepping beyond the group; you might leave them; they are going to lose you; you are out to better yourself. Where do you draw the line between ambition and opportunism?

The extended kingroup is an emotional and economic welfare system

Going to College and Helping the Indian People

When one leaves such an environment for college and then goes back to the boys who did not go to college but who were hanging around the local coke bar, there is a tendency to feel estranged because of having come into contact with a whole different set of experiences. One might not belong, since historically a college education has meant that Indian people have left their home. They have left because there was nothing for them to return to either because they were no longer acceptable since they were different (they had been tarnished somehow and they did not quite fit in) or, primarily, because there was no job for them. When they went elsewhere they were not accepted either. So being a college graduate was not such a great thing for an Indian.

This is changing. The economic opportunities for Indian college graduates are opening up. It is changing because of intensive political demands upon the federal government to demonstrate greater commitment and to assume greater responsibility. National policy now states that Indians should have the jobs which control their lives. This is difficult when there is competition over the few jobs that are available. But the economic position of the Indian community will set the tone for what happens in Indian education. The overall economic well-being of the country is going to be a fundamental determinant also.

Indian college graduates can now go to work in institutions and agencies which directly affect Indian people

With a greater acceptance of responsibility by the federal government for financing Indian needs and more Indians coming under this federal responsibility as the pressure for federal recognition increases, an Indian college graduate can go to work in institutions and agencies which directly affect Indian peoples. Not only is he then a college graduate, but he is also doing something useful for the group from which he comes, so the tribal conflicts will be decreasing. Indian college students are likely to have less of a conflict because more and more Indian people will see the connection between going to college, getting a job, and at the same time helping their own people.

But for the individual in college it is still a personal conflict. Counselors will have to be advocates for students and help them through. This does not mean that the Native Americans lack self-esteem or that self-concept must be raised. What it does mean is supplying assistance to make it possible for an Indian to go to college, get the skills, and still be Indian.

I DO NOT THINK – AND I BELIEVE YOU would agree with me – that every college can do everything. A college has to look at itself and discover the resources it has that Indian people who will be using that college want as well as what the non-Indian people need. There has to be dialogue. One must not expect that Indian peoples have all the answers or that the colleges have the answers. These are things that have to be learned. They have to be worked through case by case. Much will depend on how much money is available.

It is not going to be easy. It is not going to be easy because as Indians adopt the formal educational structure to meet their own needs, they are going to have to work through what they want to get out of it; they will have to determine some objectives and some goals. The students and communities will have to work these things out for themselves. It will be fraught with political conflict. There will be factionalism back home: the educated versus the non-educated, the young versus the old, the many factions that Indians are aware of. If there are no jobs for college graduates, then college is going to seem meaningless. Indian peoples are going to continue to seriously examine what it is in their own culture that has kept them surviving, that gave them sustenance in this world, and that they will justifiably want to perpetuate and which they may teach us.

Educating the Non-Indian

Colleges which are not directly servicing Native Americans have much to do; there is hardly a branch of learning which would not be improved by attention to the Native American

Colleges which do not have special programs for Native American students and no money to engage directly in Indian education nonetheless have much they can do in this area. There is a major role to be played in the education of all Americans to foster a better understanding not only of the history of the world and this nation, but also a better understanding of the current issues and problems faced by Native Americans and the rest of the society.

All subject areas of a university and college can contribute to the correction of distortions and deletions which characterize much of our teaching. (For example, Indians rightly chide historians and textbook writers for stating Columbus discovered America. Their concern is not so much for the other claimants to the discovery, it is that Columbus was a lost sailor who was found by inhabitants of this part of the New World, the people who knew about the New World all the time.) There is hardly a branch of learning which would not be improved by our attention to the Native peoples of our country and the current problems which exist in relationship to the larger society. Again I would especially emphasize the urgent tasks in teacher education – not only to educate those who will be working with Native American youngsters, but all those who are teaching other children in the society as well, so they do not perpetuate the errors and stereotypes which becloud relationships between groups in the society.

DISCUSSION

Tony Gullo: I know nothing of the schools that have followed the bilingual approach. One of the things that has bothered me is, who is preparing these bilingual materials? Do the native languages reflect the culture of the people or are we still dealing with Dick and Jane only in Navajo?

Fuchs: The federal government has made an effort to work on this. The Southwest Regional Educational Laboratory has programs for developing bilingual curriculum and has engaged Indian peoples to work on this. Rough Rock Demonstration School has done some work in this area. Hopefully, places like Navajo Community College will. This is an area that is wide open and desperately crying for help because most of the materials in bilingual education were prepared for Latin Americans. They are inappropriate for Indians. This is an area in which colleges have a responsibility to Indian communities and where colleges can be of real service. American Indian scholars and teachers have to be involved in curriculum development. The publication industry is also favoring this kind of material. There is a market for it and they are ready to publish it.

Terrible mistakes are made. There are Dick and Janes in other languages. There are also materials made by people who do not know the culture. For example, a University of Alaska series which on the whole is an excellent series for young Eskimo children attempts to teach the word "wood." The author's example was that wood does not bend. But what is a sled runner? What is a bow? What is a canoe? Here is a rather serious error that can turn a child off.

Minerva White: Not too long ago we received information regarding title monies and how they were to be spent on bilingual education. I was told that this money could only be used when English was the second language in the home. So really this money, at least in New York State, is not for enhancing the learning of Mohawk in our school.

Fuchs: So much of the effort is on programs like TESL which is to teach English as a second language. The view is that the initial language is a handicap rather than an enhancer of the general pool of human knowledge. There should be a respect for the traditional society and what it has to offer even if it is changing. At least tradition is something that one looks at to learn from.

Steve Adolphus: I have watched the Lafayette school system try desperately to keep their Indian students rather than allow a separate Indian school to be established on the Onondaga Reservation. I got the feeling that the school system was making money from funds that are earmarked for Indian education.

Leo Nolan: Lafayette's school board is controlled by the non-Indian population. There are not yet any Indians on the school board. Just because money is earmarked for Indian education does not mean it is used for that purpose.

Fuchs: That is precisely the problem with Johnson-O'Mally funds. The funds are dispensed but no accountability that is very meaningful is written into the law. As a result, we now know that Johnson-O'Mally funds have been put into the general budgetary fund and have enabled school districts to lower their total taxation. So instead of meaning extra funds earmarked for Indian education, what it has generally meant is that Indian students fall into the same pool as everyone else and that local school district residents are given a tax break. Since most school boards do not have strong Indian representation, Indian students get short-changed. There is a study by Harvard and the NAACP that documents this rather carefully.

M. White: I have been on the Board of Education at Salmon River for a year. The first thing that I discovered was that the board did not have any policy, any uniform system of accounting. This is where there is all kinds of trouble. We just had audit control come in and they found all kinds of discrepancies. We have corrected it now so that when there are funds transferred from one account to another we know where the money goes and how much. We have three Indians on the board now. I just wanted to point out that there is a way, but you have to become involved. Our way was to change the New York State Education Law to allow the seating of Indians on the board of education and get within the power structure.

Robert Wells: Do you know of any programs where there is a very systematic and well thought out in-service training for teachers working with Indian students?

Fuchs: Yes, I do. It is extremely controversial but very interesting structurally. I present it neutrally. I do not personally accept this program, nor do I want to attack it. It is a program at Brigham Young University which is run by the Mormons, the Church of Latter Day Saints.

The controversial aspect of the program is the fact that the Mormon Church is openly proselytizing Indians. It wishes to convert them to the Mormon faith. Its theological basis is extremely questionable to many people who are not Mormons. The Mormons believe the Indians are one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, Lamanites. The Mormon Church has made an open and serious commitment to Indian education. It is one of the prime movements of the Mormon Church in the current era to convert or to bring to salvation the Indians.

This does not mean that there are not structural lessons to be learned from this model. First of all, the Indian children are recruited very early in life. They are sent to foster homes to learn English and then they are sent to public schools before they reach college level. At Brigham Young there is a special Indian Institute. Indian students are not put into the regular school program for the first year unless they are extremely able to compete academically. The university prefers to start them in their special group. The Indians attend classes with youngsters from rural areas (they are not isolated as Indians) where the schools had no advanced placement chemistry and calculus or enriched program so that the competition in the classes will be modest. They maintain a modest level of competition to insure a successful first year experience. In that first year they do Indian history, some of it rather controversial, but it is Indian history. It is designed to build up the confidence and the sense of well-being of Indian students.

There is a special counseling office. Teachers for the program are recruited specifically. Incidentally, Brigham Young has less difficulty than an ordinary college, although ordinary colleges can do similar things, because they can call Mormon teachers to this special first year program. It is an honor to be called to do a job for the church. The criteria involved in choosing people are that they have excellent high school or junior college teaching records and that they are truly committed to the belief that Indian students are capable and can do very well. Actually, there are no anti-Indian feelings although one might interpret their stance as anti-Indian. There is a sincere effort to get teachers who are compassionate, empathetic, who have high expectations, and who will work very hard.

When the students have completed the first year program they move into the regular college program. Housing is arranged, financial aid is given, and professional counseling is available which is dedicated to seeing the graduate get into law school, medical school, or whatever. The program is pursued from the early years when the children are placed in the public schools through to the graduate level. The commitment is for the entire educational process. This includes selecting and training teachers on the basis of their commitment to the Mormon philosophy toward Lamanites and their belief in the worthiness of Indians.

Stu Tonemah: I was there in March. The first thing that struck me was the fantastic amount of paternalism that is fostered there. They hold your hand all the way through. They even offer an Associate of Arts degree at a four-year college. I have never heard of that before. I was very turned-off by the whole thing.

Fuchs: They purposely have an associate degree because in the past too many Indian students dropped out in the first two years. I understand your criticism. You may not think it is the best way to get students through, but it does accomplish that goal. If you want to get students into medical school, the support offered there is one example of how it can be done. Whether it should be done this way or not is debatable.

Steve Symansky: Jerry Hill and I were talking last night and he said, "I live on a reservation, and we have no electricity. I grew up in an environment where the general feeling was that everything was good. I did not realize that I was 'culturally, socially, and economically underprivileged' until I entered this Anglo school." When an Indian student goes to a white university, he is exposed to a whole new set of values. Should he be going to college when he is being changed just by going there? I question the value of a college education in that case.

Fuchs: As you are well aware, this is a question that is being asked for all Americans. Is the thrust toward a college education really meaningful for most people? The answer to your question is not simple. I think one thing must be said: if Indian people want to go to college, it is for them to decide. It certainly is not for us to tell them that they do not need college. The kinds of things they are going to find in college are likely to sometimes be a problem. We must make it possible for Indian people to come to college and get what they need or want out of college. There are many things there that they do need or want. Where else are people going to get the background that will enable them to be physicians, lawyers, or accountants? These are skills that Indian people need for services in the Indian communities. If they do not go to college, they will always be dependent on the white establishment to provide those services.

You do not stop being a Native American because you go to college; you may learn that there are other life styles, but all of us learn that when we go to college.

Doug Sharpe: I think there has been a drive in this country for a long time towards homogeneity, to standardize people after the white Anglo-Saxon mold. The college experience is part of this. I have seen no evidence that there is any process in effect now to make schools and colleges less homogeneous.

There is a certain point where you have to stop going forward in little steps. You have to save your energy for one large leap. This might now be the point in time when the homogenizing process could be changed. I think it might be more productive to put unit energy into something that the Indian could build for himself. Resources could be put toward those ends that he determines and money made available. To further preserve the university system as it is, is to preserve a fairly meaningless system.

Fuchs: I cannot speak for Indian people, but as a member of this society which also includes Indian people I might say that you present a very seductive argument for people who have been through the system and have decided they do not need it. But there are many people who have not had any access to the system. They have a right to reject it or to change it. When people who have been denied this access finally attain the access, when they have participated in making it serve their needs and purposes, then they can make these kinds of decisions about it.

There is a change occurring in Indian communities. Indian people are examining their past, their culture, the essence of their lifestyle for those parts they wish to retain. In doing so they recognize the reality of the dominance of the Anglo society and their need to continually deal with it. Nobody is going to make the federal government disappear, nobody is going to make financial problems disappear, nobody is going to make medical problems disappear. They need their own people to help them deal with the larger society, to help them move back and forth between the two cultures. Otherwise, they will remain dependent people. I certainly support pluralism and the viability of retaining cultural differences; they are important. But the reality of the world is that people have to deal with each other.

Larry Lazore: Just puting an Indian through college and giving him some credentials is not enough. Credentials for the Indian are not enough because he is still Indian. Even if you have the credentials, if they do not want to hire you, they will turn you off. It is very important for people in the educational field to learn about the Indian; you are the ones who are going to change the power structure, not the blacks, or the Indians, or other minority groups; you are going to make society aware.

Fuchs: In the past, going to college has meant leaving the Indian community. This is no longer true. Recently, over and over again, the most traditional people have opted for educating the young. The Navajo, for example, who had resisted schooling since they saw it taking their children away from them, have now opted for education. But they must be disappointed with many of the schools which are shams in terms of putting people through the motions and getting them the credentials. But it does not have to be that way. Where else are they going to get the skills? We can complain that the best way to learn many things may be to work outside of the formal school structure. But most Indians do not have the contacts, the relatives, and the friends with the skills who can get them these apprenticeship positions. So the reality of the present is that the schools are the best places to get skills *now*. We cannot tell the people who are most dependent on the schools now that they do not need them. Yes, schools may not be very good. But we as counselors, admissions people, and people in administration have to make it possible for the schools to do the jobs that Indian people need; that means change.

Sharpe: I do not think that the university system is capable of change. I do not want to deny access to the university system to blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, or Indians. At the same time I want the system to change. I think the program you are talking about is a continuation of the assimilation process. It does not represent a real break.

Fuchs: On one level I can agree with you. But on a practical level I urge you to recognize that you are presenting this argument at the very moment in history when the access is finally being made available to Indian people, not for the purpose of moving them away from the Indian community, but rather to have them utilize the universities for the benefit of the Indian communities.

The students will be asking themselves why they are in college. They will have to know where they are headed. They are no longer looking at college as a way to get to Madison Avenue. They are looking at college as a way to help their people by learning law, medicine, accounting, teaching, etc. Colleges will have to help them and Indian people will have to help make colleges do it. I am saying that if a college is going to recruit Indian students, it must understand that there will have to be changes in the institution to make it possible for the school to serve the Indian and the communities from which they come. That needs to be stressed. One of the problems that colleges have is that when they do think in terms of service, they usually think only in terms of particular students at their institution rather than providing for the entire Indian community. You have a very unusual relationship here between St. Lawrence and St. Regis in terms of educational services that are being provided by the college. It does involve the Mohawks with the Anglo college community. But the Anglos and the college itself are undergoing change in the process. It is a two way street that we are talking about. Total rejection of college as an institution is one possible way of changing it, but at this moment in history that approach could frustrate the purposes of some Indian people.

Lonnie Morrison: In terms of change I can only speak from a black perspective, but I do see similarities in the problems of blacks and Indians. I look at it in terms of a war where there are going to be so many casualties. For example, the black students may go to a school which does not meet its commitment to them. If you get a significant number of black students on campus and they continue to flunk out, these casualties will begin to see what is going on. They will begin to direct questions to that institution saying, "You are not meeting my needs. Do something about it." I think the change is going to come about because of these casualties.

I used to be a teacher. It was not until I went to one of these teacher training programs that I found out that I was supposed to have low self-concept, low motivation, short attention span – all these things that were written by these so-called "educational experts." I am taking courses in education now and they are still using the same books containing the same information about those same myths. What is the trend in these teacher training programs in terms of eliminating these myths?

Fuchs: Several years ago we did a study at Hunter College, C.U.N.Y., when we were asked to prepare curriculum materials for urban teachers. We took a hard look at the schools. Everybody knows about the problems now, but in 1966 it was a revelation to say that the schools were failing and not the children. We interviewed children who were involved in the school boycotts in New York City at that time. One of the young men said, "I am quitting school because they make me doubt myself. They give you so much doubt." That is a very profound insight. He did not think there was anything wrong with him, but when he went to school they made him doubt himself. The literature of the so-called "disadvantaged" in the early '60's was filled with this material about poor self-esteem, low self-concept, and so on.

This is changing. In the study I did, *Teachers Talk*, I argued against this position very strongly. The city youngsters have perfectly good self-concepts. They were perfectly articulate outside of the classroom when they talked in situations where they were not going to get a mark because they did not dot an "i" or cross a "t". They had very mature insights into their problems. Among the black youngsters we talked to, some of them said, "I would like to be a doctor but that is ten years from now. I cannot think about that because a lot of things can happen in ten years." But they knew what they had to do to become a doctor, they just did not think it was very realistic to think about going to college.

It is such a waste of time to have to look at Indian self-concept. But because of all the nonsense, you have to document what the reality is. Our documentation showed that Indian youngsters had a good self-concept. There are self-concept problems but they are not psychological in the sense that we tend to think they are. When they do have problems, they have very real problems in real situations. For instance, a scholarship may even pay for the maintenance of the Indian student, his wife and baby, but what does he do when his third cousin expects him to help out in the extended family? He may feel guilty about his role in that situation. Of course I am speaking for Indians as a group; there are always individuals who will have real self-concept problems.

If one thinks in terms of the kinds of things one has to do to get through chemistry in order to become a nurse, one realizes that much of it is very lonely, hard work. You must isolate yourself for long periods of time and your friends may turn you off during that period. You may wonder which is more important. But if you come from a community which is excited about the fact that you will be a nurse in the public health hospital on the reservation rather than some Anglo missionary, you will have that going for you. All of us have these problems of life-style because whether we are Indian, black, or white, we are living in a world which inevitably makes changes for everybody, whoever they are and wherever they are. This does not mean that one's basic core values have to change, but it does mean that one has to learn how to deal with the real world. It is not going to disappear.

Teacher Training in Bilingual,

Bicultural education, bilingual education, and education for change is a new rhetoric that most of us are learning to speak. It also appears to be the rallying cry for what the Southeastern Indians are saying needs to be done in their schools to improve education. The Southeastern Indians are no longer content to see their culture take a secondary role to the transmission of the mass culture in their schools; they are no longer content to see the Choctaw language deposited at the door when the child enters the English-speaking environment of the classroom; they are no longer content to see education preserving the status quo and assimilating Indians. Rather, education must become a viable mechanism for improving the life of Indians.

These feelings and needs in the area of education are not new. Their expression in the Southeast, however, is recent, and their expression by Indian people themselves is even more recent. The days of educators and bureaucrats making unlimited promises which can never pay-off are over. Discontent in our educational system is by no means limited to Indian education. A dissatisfied public is demanding that educators produce, that there be a return on its massive investment.

The Indian Teacher Training Project

It is within this framework that the Indian Teacher Training Project at the University of Georgia (Athens) was developed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs specified the following guidelines for special purpose training programs in Indian education:

1) The training program must be an upper-division program with entering students having junior class standing.
2) Trainees must be American Indians.
3) One-half of the training program should be conducted in field experiences.
4) Field experiences should be in Indian schools.
5) Trainees must participate in the local community.
6) The training program should cooperate with the internship schools.

Basic Assumptions

The Indian Teacher Training Project (ITTP) proposal postulated that social science education was a logical area to incorporate bicultural educational materials such as Indian history. In terms of cultural materials, most often Indian people are calling for Indian histories, Indian ethnographies, and current social and political problems facing Indian people. A second assumption was that bilingual Indian teachers could be more successful in teaching Indian students than non-Indians.

A third assumption stated that the University of Georgia training program would incorporate and operationalize a training model whose results could be shared with southeastern tribes and sponsoring agencies at any time. To this end, preparation of the proposal involved meetings with the officers of the United Southeastern Tribes, Inc. (USET), educational officials of Cherokee and Choctaw high schools, and tribal officials in Choctaw. Specific requests from the tribal meetings were built into the program. They were the following:

1) The program's students would be all Indian.

Dr. James R. Richburg, *former Assistant Director to the Indian Teacher Training Project at the University of Georgia at Athens, is currently Division Chairman of Social Sciences and Special Education at Florida Junior College. He has training in both anthropology and education. Dr. Richburg has participated in extensive field work with the Mississippi Choctaws in conjunction with John Peterson.*

Bicultural Education

A new, model teacher education program incorporates innovative, community based instructional techniques specifically designed to train Indians to teach Indians

2) The training program proposal must be stated in such a way that the University of Georgia can be held accountable for its training.
3) University staff must be committed to the success of each trainee in the program.
4) The trainees must be an integral part of the Indian community in which they intern.
5) University staff and local representatives must participate in the community activities and promote community involvement.
6) A policy advisory committee appointed by the United Southeastern Tribes, Inc., should give direction and support for the project.
7) University staff will report to the tribal council members on a regular basis.

Training Goals

The major goal of the training program was to produce an Indian educator. A second goal was the training of a change agent who could function within the educational system to demonstrate alternatives to existing teachers. Specific proposed competencies included the following:

1) The ability to objectively describe the culture and traditions of the Indian community in which he [illegible], and a category system for the description and understanding of other Indian communities.
2) The capacity, affective as well as intellectual, to adjust to and teach in an isolated school setting.
3) The ability and understanding to work with [illegible] and the community in the solution of school and community problems.
4) The capacity to diagnose the level of a pupil's [illegible] performance, and the ability to use this information to help a student guide his educational efforts.

These four competency areas represented not only the training goals of the program, but also the philosophy of the program in terms of the teacher to be trained. By virtue of the bicultural background of the teacher trainee, it was hoped that the teacher would be better able to relate to the students. Additionally, by gaining an in-depth understanding of the internship community, the teacher would be able to move to other Indian communities with a category system that would enable him to learn about the new communities. Implicit in this assumption was that the teacher trainee would internalize the need to use the local community as his data base for much of his social studies instruction.

Several agreements had to be reached before the project could be implemented. A decision was made that if a person lived Indian, identified Indian, and was accepted as Indian by his tribe, then he was Indian. It was operationalized by asking the tribal chairman to certify that the person was Indian. This is a system that might present problems, but it represented the wishes of the project sponsors and the United Southeastern Tribes, Inc.

The specific purpose of the program was to train 14 Indian college students to become teachers of secondary social studies in Indian schools or in schools serving an Indian population if they were in public schools. Recruitment was a massive problem because Indian students had never been to the University of Georgia. The State of Georgia had perpetrated so many injustices against the Cherokees and the Creeks that there was a very natural bias against the university. The 14 recruited students consisted of three students from Cherokee, North Carolina; one student from Choctaw, Mississippi; seven students from Oklahoma, four of whom were Creek and three Cherokee; one Isleta Pueblo/adopted Delaware; one Navajo and one

Shoshone-Paiute. The Policy Advisory Committee appointed by USET reviewed the applicants and awarded scholarships. The board was quite pleased in the sense that most of the students were Southeastern or from tribes which were removed from the Southeast.

Academic Training

The program began on September 1, 1971. The first phase of the program was community orientation. We established from the beginning that the individual staff members were by no means experts, and we did not want to make any pretense of being Indian experts. The orientation was conducted by the Indian policy advisory members of the program. The representatives from each tribe, Choctaw and Cherokee, planned and presented the orientation that lasted for three days in each community where the trainees were placed.

Training at the University of Georgia began fall quarter, September 21. Academic training is conducted through conventional arts and sciences courses. Broad field certification in social studies was sought because normally Indian high schools are small and the social studies teacher is called on to be a jack-of-all-trades. Therefore, the training program involved cultural geography, cultural anthropology, sociology, and American and world history.

All University of Georgia admission requirements were dropped for entrance into the program. However, performance in academic areas and professional training is very rigidly enforced. Students are required to achieve a 2.0 average, which is a C grade, or be dismissed from the program.

Supportive Services

To help in the initial academic adjustment to the university the students were block-registered for the first two quarters. All 14 students took common courses. In two instances the courses were created for the ITTP. This enabled the program to place a full-time tutor in the classes with the trainees. Working liaison was established with particular professors. The tutor audited the course and then provided what began as mandatory tutorials that required each trainee to spend two hours a week in tutorials and additional time in voluntary tutorials. This worked well in the fall quarter for some students.

In all candor and honesty, however, required tutorials were a bomb. They created dissension within the program, and the tutor played policeman more than he did tutor. In the early winter quarter required tutorials were dropped. Voluntary tutorials were initiated, and our tutor developed weekly study guides for the academic courses which the students could use if they wanted.

To help insure that the teacher trainees receive a meaningful broad field social science background, the project staff devised a listing of major concepts in the social sciences – one hundred concepts from each discipline. Teacher trainees are expected to reach a 75% performance level on the criterion test prior to graduation. Teacher trainees unable to reach competency level on the test after two administrations will participate in a special multidisciplinary seminar during the last quarter.

Professional Training

Professional training takes place through what are called "performance based modules." Modules are conducted in educational psychology, the curriculum and methods sequence, and the foundations of education. The modular instructional technique consists of statements of objectives, exemplars of the skill, psychological assumptions and premises, skill development, and assessment and evaluation. Modules (one and two weeks long) operationalize distinct teaching strategies – the guided discovery strategy, the lecture strategy, the inquiry strategy, etc. Also included are modules on test instruction, planning for instruction, and writing curriculum materials. Simulated classroom teaching is included in the modules.

We have found that the two week module keeps us all very honest because the amount of time and the goals are concrete. Completion of the modules and internships provide tangible evidence and measures of success and realistic rewards. Consequently, teacher trainees know where they are in terms of the training program and can focus on their progress toward graduation and certification as a social studies teacher.

Practical Field Experience

Students teach at Cherokee and Choctaw high schools under the supervision of a University of Georgia training supervisor. The training supervisor works with the teacher trainees both on campus and in the field experiences. Not only do they spend the school day with the teacher trainees, but they share housing facilities with them in Indian communities. In conjunction with the internship school's regular teacher, the training supervisor coordinates the teaching schedules of the teacher trainees. Weekly objectives for the implementation of particular training skills and strategies are programmed by the training supervisor, teacher trainees review lesson plans with the training supervisor prior to instruction, daily seminars are held to assist the teacher trainees in preparing lessons and critiquing teaching techniques, and weekly formal reports are made on the extent to which objectives have been met. In each internship community a policy advisory member is also working with the students and the training supervisor to identify community activities for the teacher trainees.

In the conventional student teacher model, teacher training programs expect the cooperating schools to supervise the student teacher. The ITTP, however, does not send its trainees to teach under Ms. Jones or Mr. Smith. After all, it is the old teacher model that we are trying to replace not to emulate. Educators know that teacher expectations of student performance must be changed. Yet, after three and one-half years of the standard teacher education process, the trainee climaxes his education in the classroom where he must translate his knowledge into an effective method under the guidance of the present teacher. Because the school is where most of the learning occurs, where the student faces the realism of the classroom, the ITTP departs from the conventional model and maintains a high degree of control and accountability by monitoring the internship experiences rather than abdicating training responsibility to the internship school.

It was very disappointing, but we found a tendency on the part of the students to criticize the teaching that is being done in the Cherokee BIA school, and yet the students were satisfied to model after the old teacher model that we were trying to avoid. We try to demonstrate something better. We try to follow through on critical opinion, and we try to stress constructive criticism within the program.

Summary and Implications of the Project

The Indian Teacher Training Project at the University of Georgia (Athens) is a modular, organized accountability teacher training program. The participants in the program are American Indians. Of the original 14 students, 11 remain. The 11 are full-standing seniors who are scheduled for graduation in June and August 1973.

The program is characterized by careful specification of learning outcomes, intensive internship supervision, and accountability to the sponsoring agency, the United Southeastern Tribes, Inc. Graduates of the program will be prepared to teach in Indian high schools or in regular social studies positions. Hopefully, the product teacher will be able to utilize the local communities in which he teaches as a data source for social studies instruction.

Implications based on the conceptualization and experiences of the ITTP for other teacher training programs tend to fall into three categories: minority teacher training, special purpose teacher training, and general teacher training.

The modular organization of the ITTP provides a means for students of widely varying abilities to make up deficiencies and learn new skills in both a group and an individual format. The carefully stated modular objectives and program objectives provide a common focus between the training staff and the teacher trainees that allows for cultural differences and perceptions to be transcended in an open, straight-forward manner.

As indicated above, the special nature of a special purpose training program allows for common objectives and a set training sequence. In a negative sense, it also creates a segregationalist environment in which the program participants are removed from the general student body of a university. Since university services such as housing, counseling, financial assistance, and course scheduling are handled through the project office, it is easy for minority teacher trainees to feel that a special, "easy to get through" program has been established for them, and that perceptions of their ability are biased and prejudiced. If performance expectation and standards of acceptable achievement are modified, as has occurred in some programs, then an argument can be made that the participants of the program have been compromised as individuals. However, a special purpose program, such as the ITTP, can maintain its objectivity and through intensive support accomplish its goals.

The major implication for general teacher training programs is that intensive support and supervision is effective in teacher training. However, in cost terms, the degree of supervision and support may be too expensive to be borne by teacher training institutions. Several institutions have implemented laboratory schools, early internships, satellite training centers, modular training, and more effective liaison between training programs and internship schools to provide for the application of the skills learned at the teacher training institution.

In the implementation of the ITTP, the lead time between the program proposal and program initiation was too short. Additionally, the program may have been over-ambitious in its attempt to develop modules simultaneously with program implementation. Additional problems occurred when the program staff attempted to implement its program in the internship schools which were accustomed to the conventional model of student teacher supervision. More time and communication between the project staff and the internship schools could have alleviated this problem.

A granting agency has an obligation to a program to

Byron and Ruth Graves, Stu Tonemah, and Mike Dorris

provide financial support that will enable the program to meet its contracted goals. In the case of the ITTP, the Bureau of Indian Affairs requested a two year program plan that would be funded on a one year basis. Soon after the one year program was initiated, the BIA began seeking ways of reducing costs for the second year. Consequently, much instructional and administrative time was spent trying to assure funding to complete the program. This time could have been more wisely spent in educating the trainees.

The Indian Teacher Training Project has provided an opportunity for trainees and staff to engage in a meaningful program in bicultural education. The final assessment of the program will be measured by the success of the American Indian high school students in the future classrooms of the ITTP graduates.

DISCUSSION

Jim Garrett: Who was involved in the curriculum design of the training project?

Richburg: Curriculum design was done by the social science education department of the University of Georgia. It did not involve Indian professionals in the design. The community involvement aspects and modification of the modular training has involved the policy advisory committee which is all Indian. This could have been a major weakness of the program. The United Southeastern Tribes had five or six proposals to choose from, however, and their support went with this one. It is spelled out in detail exactly how it is to be done. The need is so great to have local Indian teachers in this area that we went ahead with the design. USET continues to provide support for the training program. The smallest problem that comes up, we do not hesitate to call our policy advisory committee. They may get bugged at us sometimes, but we really do not dare to make too many moves without them.

Garrett: Do you anticipate possibilities of altering the curriculum design in the program?

Richburg: We have found that the modular structure is useful. The teacher trainees buy it, and it keeps everybody honest. It is hard to see a utility for the selection of some of the content. Selected methods of teaching American history evokes a response by the Indian student, "If there is anything I do not want to teach, it is American history." You are going to find, however, that in most any Indian school the teacher has to subscribe to the state requirements in terms of education. The training project will show the Indian trainee how, when talking about political institutions, the United States Congress for example, he can compare it to the tribal network right down the road. What we have done is to incorporate tribal governmental features and social organization into the required elements of the social studies curriculum. There is no need of talking about economics in terms of European supply and demand when you can talk about it in terms of the Choctaw Reservation.

As a part of the student's training internship there are field anthropology courses which attempt to impart a better grasp of the community. Our expectations for this method were perhaps not realistic, and it has not worked out as well as originally hoped.

Robert Wells: Are there any curriculum materials in the local school systems where the students could be involved with Native American approaches?

Richburg: We are developing at the University of Georgia, through anthropological study, materials on the Southeastern Indians. We could not wait until we got a finished product, however. We began working while we were in the internship. A four week unit on Cherokee history was taught, and a three week unit on Choctaw history was developed by the students. One of our biggest tenets in terms of teacher training is that the teacher as dispenser of knowledge and lecturer does not cut it sometimes. Involvement is much better. We actually have Choctaw high school students researching and finding material.

Lonnie Morrison: You mentioned that all admissions criteria were dropped. What criteria did you use or did you accept anybody who applied?

Richburg: First of all, we wanted a verbal or written commitment to Indian education. It is not a contractual obligation. There is no need giving students degrees if they are never going to be in the classroom, be they Indian or whatever. We want people who will teach Indian high school students.

Second, we wanted a person who was interested in the social sciences and who was interested in working with bicultural material and the development of such material for the Indian high school student. The prospective trainee must be certified as being Indian by his tribal chairman. We were primarily giving preference to Southeastern Indians, however. There are not too many Southeastern Indians interested in the program who have completed two years of school and are eligible to transfer as juniors. It is a narrow program. First of all it says education, then secondary education, then social science education. During recruitment I was very disillusioned to learn of the low status that social studies holds for college students today. It was very disappointing to a social studies educator.

Morrison: Every special program has a certain amount of stigma that is applied either to the program or to the students in the program in terms of questioning the academic competency of the student.

Richburg: Our students are usually in with other students in their courses. There may be 50 or 60 students and the grades among the trainees will be A to D – within the normal range. We keep very careful tallies as to how the students do as individuals and as a class. They fall in the spectrum of the regular student body, and the academic qualifications are the same. In fact, the graduation requirement for a normal course of study is 2.0 or a C. For education majors at the University of Georgia it is a 2.5 or a C+. They are actually under a higher standard than the average University of Georgia student.

Wells: Will you be bringing a new group in this fall or are you going to work with just this group for two years?

Richburg: We are just going to work with this group for two years. There is a law of supply and demand for social studies teachers.

Morrison: You mentioned the orientation of the students. I think the method was very good. The question that I have is that all too frequently when a group of students is brought on a campus there is no orientation to the college or to the faculty community. Was there any orientation to the faculty, to the community, to the student body as to what the needs of these trainees were going to be?

Richburg: In terms of the social science education department, yes. This is a special service program and should be distinguished from a general scholarship program. This involves a specialized training staff. It means that most university services are collapsed into one office of one building. The training staff consists of myself, two training supervisors, and professors from social sciences education who were modular instructors in the professional training. All of these people visited, prior to the arrival of the students, in the Indian communities, read, and tried to sensitize themselves. Before you actually begin working with people you can develop a framework. But you still need the human contact before sensitization becomes real. In our orientation the faculty went with the students and the training staff on these trips. We had three weeks on campus together before the rest of the student body arrived. In fact, we had our own dormitory; the students lived together, the staff was in most of the day and into the late hours of the night with the students.

Morrison: I get the impression that the program existed outside the total college community rather than being a part of the community.

Richburg: Yes, that is what I am saying. It is a special purpose program. The University has 24,000 students and the teacher training program has 14. The students were housed in the living learning center as it is called on campus. Within this dorm setting, the teacher trainee group and the non-Indian students on campus had some exchange sessions during the fall quarter when they met together in groups and discussed what it meant to be an Indian at the University of Georgia.

The Indian students are removed from the local prejudices and discrimination experienced in North Carolina and in Mississippi. There is no Indian population in Georgia. The students are not received as if they are some quaint things to be studied; they seem to be received more or less as individuals. The first two quarters the students lived together in the dorms. This summer quarter they requested that they not live together but be permitted to expand out to the rest of the population.

Wells: Did you have regular rap sessions with them along the way?

Richburg: Each day we had an intensive two-hour training session. Fridays were devoted to a general rap. But we did not find that too successful. What we found to be successful was to be in our offices an hour before the formal session was to begin. Several students would drop in. They were rap sessions, even if you did not announce them. Plus, when we were out in internships, the training supervisor on the program lived with the students. In Choctaw we had three students living in an apartment with a training supervisor. It is a first name basis relationship within the training program, and it is a very friendly relationship. The training supervisors are not Indian, they are very young men and turned-on type people. Communications have been very good within the program. There were hang-ups that occurred in the program during the fall quarter in getting to know each other. The tutorials were our big problem.

Joan Cofield: When they finish the program will they go to any high school or will they have to go to an Indian school to teach?

Richburg: They will be certified as social studies teachers and will be capable of teaching anywhere. Hopefully, they will go to teach in Indian schools. We know the Cherokee school is on record as saying they are holding all positions open that these interns qualify for until they finish. We hope the Choctaw school will do the same. Most likely, several will go to Oklahoma to public school, which have an Indian population.

Merv Goldbas: How do you decide on a specific individual's competence and how do you evaluate his performance?

Richburg: Any time the conversation is about teaching strategy people like to talk about the teacher as an artist; they do not want to talk about the teacher as a technician. They want to be creative all-knowing people who bring light to bear on all children of the world. But we cannot take a chance on our teachers. We have to define behaviors that we consider good teaching. In terms of identifying the exemplars of teaching we mainly took it from our experience in social science education. The evaluation techniques vary for each one. They are based on observations by all the staff members, by the teachers, and by other members of the communities because that is where the real evaluation is. The real evaluation of a teacher is how well his students learn, not how well he projects or some of the other standard criteria.

We had two quarters of modular training in our first intership this spring quarter. The trainees were supposed to demonstrate the competencies learned in those modules during student teaching. This is how their evaluation was programmed. They were not expected to do the full range of teaching that is required of a regular teacher. This was their first quarter internship as juniors. Next fall they are expected to demonstrate more competencies, and it is stretched out and planned in this manner.

Minnesota Provides Comprehensive, Culturally Related Services

Multiple resources are applied to a variety of Indian needs

by Will Antell

The record will show that since the latter part of the sixties intensive and extensive efforts in university and college communities all over the country have generated many crash programs. Most of these programs have lacked thorough planning. Few institutions have thought in terms of where they want to be ten or fifteen years from now. In relation to Indian programs, this has also been true for those educational groups which have been trying to resolve how they might meet legitimate needs of Indian people. I suspect that there are several factors involved. Perhaps this new approach to Indian peoples has been taken because the federal government has recently provided resources for the effort; perhaps it is a guilty conscience on the part of this country as a whole; or perhaps, and more importantly, universities and colleges are beginning to think in terms of meeting the needs of the *total* community. The last mentioned premise is the one we would like to believe is occurring.

Indians Establish Criteria

In the deliberations on the Minnesota program, the Family Plan for Indian Education, we went to the communities, we visited practically every reservation in Minnesota, and we did considerable research on what was occurring in other parts of the country. The first criterion that the Indian people established was easy access to the program. The second criterion was that they wanted culturally related activities to be provided along with the basic skills. They also wanted a large number of Indian people directing the program, teaching, counseling, and working with these small isolated communities in northern Minnesota. When these criteria were provided to the U.S. Office of Education and the Minnesota Department of Education, the program met the usual bureaucratic resistance: "Indians are just like everyone else; why can't they drive forty miles to the state college? Why can't they drive to a school district where these programs are available? Why do they have to become Indians all over again? Why do you want to reinforce or why do you want to provide culturally related activities? Why is it so important that Indians participate in directing the program? Why is it so important that there be Indian teachers and counselors?" An entire educational process was necessary not only to provide a program, but to orient educational institutions that somehow could not come to grips with a prevailing issue in our state and across the country.

Our first major goal was to get people involved in the program. We put together an Indian staff with counselors and directors and as many Indian teachers as possible. It is obvious that we could not find all the Indian teachers that we desired. We did carefully solicit people that we could count on to be very sensitive and understanding of the objectives that the Indian people had set forth.

Dismal History of Adult Education

In Minnesota very few if any Indian people were partici-

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pating in adult education or in continuing education. Educational institutions could not understand why Indians did not want to participate when great allocations of money, either state or federal, were being provided to conduct reading, arithmetic, and language classes. It was quite evident, however, that these programs were only extensions of the traditional school systems that Indians had attended with even more inflexibility, more paternalism, and more of a "you come to us" attitude. It was very easy to see that they would not pursue education under those conditions.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs had been providing an adult education program on the reservation for years. They were paying people to come, and they were trying to jam down the traditional skills. The Office of Economic Opportunity came in when the Bureau failed. OEO provided a baby sitting service, transportation, and they paid the Indian people a stipend to induce them to participate. Still, the program did not succeed. Everybody said, "What is wrong with those Indians? They just do not want to learn. They are just not interested."

We felt that we were under the gun. We said, "No, we would not pay stipends, we would not pay any other fees. The only thing that we can do is try to help you determine what you want, then we will try to provide it for you. We are interested in your educational opportunities. There is no other motive."

Meeting Indian Needs

Even though our staff was all Indian and all from Minnesota, there was, of course, skepticism. But we demonstrated our purpose to them. If they decided they wanted more language classes, we would fight the battle with the agencies. If they wanted more craft work, if they wanted to develop more skills in basketweaving, beadwork, or canning, we provided it for them. As that kind of relationship evolved it is surprising what these people have accomplished in a relatively short period of time as far as upgrading their skills.

Rather than have an adult education program at a college or university, we took the program to the individual communities. The Indian population in Minnesota centers around three large reservations, but each reservation has several small communities. Some places are very isolated and hard to get to by our standards. Nevertheless, we took the programs to these small communities. It meant a great deal of travel on the part of the staff. The burden was on us, not on the participants.

We assumed that the first thing to do was upgrade the reading skills and other basic skills that were needed. At the same time we were trying to teach a basic skill we were also trying to provide these people with something that they desired: an opportunity for community people to act as instructors with the culturally related materials. We came to recognize that the key was to teach reading by using culturally related materials. Of course, we could find no such materials on the market. So we had to improvise our own. With that concept as the heart of our program, people believed that we were legitimate and we were not trying to force something on them that they did not want.

The program rejected many of the standardized testing systems that were currently being used not only in the school systems but in adult education as prescribed by the U.S. Office of Education and reinforced by the state departments of education. We were not really that uptight about whether a person was reading at a third grade level or an eighth grade level. "How are you going to measure any success? How are you going to determine if these people have reached an eighth grade equivalency?" Those were the types of questions constantly asked of us. We found that when the Indian felt he was ready for a GED, he participated. Again, this is something hard for institutions to understand. How do you know an Indian is ready to pursue opportunities beyond an eighth grade education? You let him decide. I report to you that the success has been overwhelming. Whereas we were graduating approximately 250 students out of a population of 33 to 35 thousand Indian people in Minnesota, we are now finding that we are almost doubling this every year with the GED.

Broadening the Scope of Service

We have had requests for other types of services. The Indian community has asked us to provide driver training. This is accepted or assumed in a majority of American communities. Yet this was a crucial problem in the Indian community. Of course we could not carry this out under adult basic education, so we turned to other resources. We were able to provide, under the Driver Safety Act, substantial resources so that about 600 people received a driver's license in the last year and a half. A very simple need that is overlooked by institutions.

We do the same thing with vocational education. Many of the people wanted GED, but they also wanted to start moving in the direction of a vocation. We have been able to bring in resources from vocational education and from vocational rehabilitation. The Indian people in Minnesota wanted to learn how to repair a snowmobile. We persuaded some manufacturers to donate snowmobiles and vocational education monies

Minerva White

funded the instructors.

We have been active in several other areas. We developed programs in the media. Indian people are just sick and tired of the curriculum materials and the library materials now in use. We organized and directed a library institute for 50 professional librarians. Through the welfare department we obtained resources for prenatal care for Indian mothers. We have also done something a little different by going into penal institutions. This is an area that has been neglected by just about every educational institution across the country. Universities, colleges, and departments of correction have been particularly guilty in trying to provide legitimate opportunities for these people. We did this for Indian inmate populations. Again, they did not really want us to come there and teach math or reading. They wanted us to come and provide opportunities for them to study the history and culture of the Ojibway and other tribes across the country. They wanted language, dancing, and religion.

Multiresource, Comprehensive Program

The point in need of emphasis is that it takes a conglomeration of resources to properly meet the Indians' needs because of the stringent criteria that have been laid down by federal agencies and state departments in particular. Continuing education in Minnesota is defined as an eighth grade equivalency. What incentive is there to get an eighth grade equivalency without any special skill? And yet Congress appropriates literally millions of dollars for this program. The adult education act is used as a central resource (it funds our staff), but it is supplemented with driver education, vocational rehabilitation, vocational education, EPDA programs, Johnson-O'Mally programs in some cases, and state resources under continuing education. There is not one program I know of in Minnesota that does not have a consolidated number of resources, material and human, that we draw upon. This is all soft money provided principally by the federal government.

We end up generating perhaps ten kinds of resources, so it is not just one single adult basic education program but it is a multiresource, family education program. We feel that an important and integral part of any continuing education program is not to isolate a program and call it adult basic education. We have tried to refer to it as a Family Plan for Indian Education in Minnesota. As far as we are concerned, the crucial element that enabled us to provide this important resource was the fact that it was a culturally related effort on our part. We were not concerned about the organization of it

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Developing Meaningful Adult Education

Illiteracy among American Indian adults is four times the national average; only one-fifth of American Indian adults have completed high school or an equivalency course.

For these reasons, among others, adult education is a necessary educational service which should be provided to the Indian community. The Minnesota program (described above) which provides for the full spectrum of educational needs is an example of optimum service to the Indian community. However, all too often the Indian adult is overlooked in building for the future. The importance of educating Indian youth is undeniable. But excluding or forgetting the adult ignores the need to utilize one of the Indian community's most valuable resources.

Training Adult Instructors

Mr. George Abrams, former Co-director of the American Indian Adult Basic Education (ABE) Teacher and Teacher Aide Training Institute, met with the Institute on the American Indian Student and discussed strengthening adult education in the Indian community. The HEW training institute which Mr. Abrams directed provided for the instruction of potential and existing teachers and teacher aides of American Indian descent in the methods which will make education relevant and functional for Indian adults.

The project year, July 1971 to June 1972, began with the selection of an advisory council composed of American Indian educators. All tribal chairmen in the eleven state project area (Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska) were asked to recommend an individual who could best represent all of the Indians in their state and not just their own particular tribe. This resulted in the compilation of 75 names. From that list, eleven American Indians, one from each state, whose names appeared most often on the list were asked to serve on the advisory council.

The first major effort of the project was a large workshop at Colorado State University. Potential teachers and teacher aides from the eleven state area were invited to attend the workshop and receive training. As identified by the advisory council and the teachers, ethnic studies, social studies, government, and psychology were subjects of great interest in the Indian community in addition to the basic math and verbal skills. The workshop concentrated on demonstrating the techniques for presenting these materials on an adult level while being careful not to go over their heads.

Sustaining Adult Interest

Gaining the interest of adults in the continuation of their education is an essential prerequisite to an ABE program. One of the earliest priorities in the training program was curriculum development: how are materials developed, how is a curriculum planned which will attract and sustain adult interest? How is the Dick and Jane approach, which will turn adults off, avoided? For the Indian adult it is also necessary to make studying meaningful by introducing materials that have significance in their lives.

Several elementary examples were explained by Mr. Abrams: To establish that math skills can be taught in an Indian context which relates to their daily lives, the example of using blood in the systematic way that elementary and secondary education programs provide, we were interested in serving the Indians' needs as the people perceived their needs to be. They acquired the learning skills that were necessary to begin to move into university and college vocational programs throughout the state. We did not drag them fifty or 100 miles. Those programs were right there, right in their own communities.

The program was attempting to serve the greater Minneapolis-St. Paul area, the Duluth area, Grand Portage, and Net Lake. A specialized concept was developed for the centers. A center was conceived as a satellite operation – everything would flow out rather than focus there. We talked about centers extensively in our communications with our project officers in Washington. This visiting project officer said, "I am just so excited about going to see the Bemidji center." We traveled 250 miles, arrived at the unit center and went to the office. It is just a plain, old office. She looked at me rather funny and did not say anything. Then as we were leaving to visit the other areas she asked, "Before we leave town could we stop at the center?" I informed her that we had just left the center. This is not the traditional adult education center that you see in an urban area where there are typewriters and other materials filling the place.

It took two days to cover these three areas, and we did not get to half the sites. At least an opportunity was provided for that one person who makes decisions on millions of dollars to see that those isolated areas have to be served with a different method, that you have to go directly to the sites. When we arrived at a community, she assumed we would go to a school or a community center. Many times we actually ended up in a home. The instruction or the programs were conducted there. That really is not so strange or unusual, but for some reason educators think that everything must be taught in a little, red schoolhouse and that nothing happens in education elsewhere. The research data on where learning occurs demonstrates that it does not occur very consistently or legitimately only in schoolrooms or in university and college classrooms. I point that out as a major reason why the Indian people in Minnesota are very pleased with this program.

Will Government Follow This Example?

We have suggested that the U.S. Office of Education provide a package program to reservation areas where the unemployment is high, the social service cost remains exceedingly enormous, and yet the people do not want to leave home to secure work. We have tried to encourage federal agencies

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quantum to teach fractions was demonstrated. Blood quantum is something that Indians, especially among the Western tribes who have a requirement for enrollment, are always concerned about. Using a traditional anthropological kinship chart, it was shown how marriage among Indians of different degrees of Indian ancestry affected the blood quantum of children. Fractionated heirship – where land was allotted and the inheritance must be divided among a long list of kin – is another method of teaching fractions which has importance to Indians. Concepts of area, geometrical shape, percentages, and other mathematical methods and concepts can be similarly incorporated into an Indian context.

Using Tribal History

In the area of verbal skills, tribal history is a useful tool. Many Indians are dissatisfied with their own tribal history as it is now written so it is easy to involve adults in such a project. Revising the tribal history requires reading and understanding of what has already been written and it requires writing and editing of new material. Many tribes have done this already; several have made rewriting the tribal history part of an ongoing adult education project. Studies of tribal and federal government and the relation of individual Indians to them is another area of keen interest to the adult.

Projects such as these require considerable preparation by the teacher or teacher aide. As part of their training, Mr. Abrams and his staff demonstrated to the teacher aides the skills necessary. For example, reduction of the reading level is one of the key elements. All the materials need to be reduced to approximately a fifth grade reading level for the adult students' use. First of all the teacher or aide must know what a fifth grade reading level is, what words are introduced in the vocabulary, and what alternatives are appropriate to replace the original word or phrase. The teacher or aide would have the best idea of what would work on their reservation among their tribal group.

The project gave the teachers, aides, and adults encouragement to continue and develop their own materials partly because what worked for one tribal group did not necessarily work for another. With over 60 reservations in the project area, materials underwent considerable adaptation.

Building From the Community

As a follow-up to the initial comprehensive workshop, the staff travelled to most of the states to hold individual workshops that examined more specific and more tribally oriented problems at close range. The general tone for these smaller workshops varied from state to state. The individual workshops were held at community centers on reservations. The sessions were conducted in accordance with needs which each state or community communicated to the training staff. As far as possible, an attempt was made to bring in local Indian resource people drawn from lists of available expertise compiled at the beginning of the program.

It was made clear to the participants that community support, and teachers from the community, were essential for a successful program. Individual, one-to-one instruction was suggested as a possible foundation for the building of a formal community program. Cooperation with as many agencies and organizations as possible that work with Indians in each community was stressed. State directors of ABE or public instruction were contacted in each state. A commitment was sought to provide employment for the trainees as soon as would be possible. Most state directors were very cooperative.

The project ended on June 30, 1972. Three hundred twenty-five teachers and teacher aides were trained during the course of the program. Ideally this training program is to be carried on by a completely different project. Many of the programs and teachers have been provided with the momentum and skills to continue programs in adult education on their own.

and state agencies to consolidate their resources to put together an experimental program to develop Indian economic resources. We have found that the individual bureaucrats do not want to give up control of individual programs that they direct.

We are very concerned about this, and we have tried to force the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. Office of Education to think in terms of a *total* program rather than an isolated program. These agencies assume that Indians are going to get an eighth grade equivalency or GED and then forget about it. Agencies, especially the federal agencies, have assumed that their task was completed when their specific objective was attained, yet the people were still excited about other opportunities.

Now let me shift directions for a minute and try to tell you what has happened and how these experiences apply across the country, at least as I have had the opportunity to see it.

President Nixon, in a statement made in 1970, spoke in terms of federal support for self-determination and Indian control of education programs. The President created a special subcommittee which was to report to him annually on the status of Indian education. In the last fifteen months we have visited about three-fourths of the states that have large Indian populations. Indian people tell us what is happening as far as self-determination or increased Indian control; but the focus on every single visit has been higher education and the inadequate services, the inadequate opportunities that undergraduate Indian students are encountering.

Disenchantment With Higher Education

I know that financial aids was a major focus of attention at this institute last year. This year we have found that financial aids is still a problem. We have found, however, that the Indian undergraduate students have become very articulate and vocal about the kinds of services educational institutions provide for them and how they are so often manipulated to get federal money into those institutions. They are talking about the training they have had in post-secondary education; many times they feel that they are two and three years behind other students. Yet the institutions are not coming up with the remedial effort that is needed. This is a very angry group of Indian college students. These are large numbers of students and the consensus among them is that universities and colleges are not providing legitimate services in relation to tutorial assistance, financial assistance, and to programs that are being introduced without any consultation with the students.

These meetings also uncovered the pattern that universities and colleges do not want to participate in continuing education in the community, to extend and involve their institutions in satellite educational programs, without federal assistance. This is a sad aspect of universities and colleges. We have found that they have recruited students to their campuses so that they might satisfy the requirements of the U.S. Office of Education or other agency that might supply financial resources.

Vocational education is still an overwhelming issue in Indian communities throughout the country. It is ironic that many of the students we have talked to in the last fifteen months now want to get into vocational education but really cannot come to grips with the family and, perhaps, with the Indian community at large. Indian communities, by and large, do not accept the premise that vocational education is worthwhile. They have been brainwashed by federal agencies for years that only those who cannot make it in universities and colleges take up carpentry, electronics, or tool and die. There is an enormous task in reeducation for not only Indian people but the public in general. There must be provision for counselors who understand both higher education and vocational education. The last two U.S. Commissioners of Education and the chief state school officers are focusing attention on career education. Higher education must also concern itself. You people in universities and colleges can possibly influence potential teachers and counselors who will be out in the field.

I am really optimistic about what is being done and what can be done in certain parts of the country. I have seen many non-Indian people legitimately and honestly concerned, and these people are providing help. It is good that people are accepting this responsibility. But more importantly, I see the Indian people across this country emerging by the thousands, doing things that they want to do for their own people. We are going to see greater and greater mobility by the highly educated Indians who have skills and ability, who have not lost a compassion and an abiding sensitivity for the people, and who will return. I am confident of that. And I am sure that it is because of this cohesiveness that is developing in education. Hopefully, I have demonstrated that there are enthusiastic people across the country who really want to upgrade educational opportunities for Indian people.

DISCUSSION

Steve Adolphus: There will be those who will have some thirst for additional education who are not yet prepared to leave the reservation. As you pointed out earlier, you still lack the proper commitments from higher education institutions that are not allowing Indian people to do post-secondary, credit bearing school work on the reservation. Are there alternatives for the Indian people? College equivalency or correspondence courses, for instance?

Antell: There are not an extensive amount of alternatives. In Minnesota, Bemidji State has branched out. It has gone to the community to assist some of the people that were in our on-site programs. They now have on the campus a cadre of people who are not trying to determine for Indians what Indians want, but who have sought to discover what the people at Red Lake or White Earth reservations want. They could do a lot more. But at least they are beginning to think in terms of themselves as a community college trying to meet the Indian's needs and breaking the tradition of everybody flocking to Bemidji State.

Also, it is important that higher education in particular begin to realize that these people must do something. They cannot live at home if there are no opportunities available. Criteria must be established by university and college administrators so these people may participate as visiting lecturers, professors, or whatever. We are finding some reluctance on the part of institutions to let these people provide or develop that kind of a skill. We have a great desire on the part of our people to retain the language. An 89 year old Chippewa Indian who can speak fluent Ojibway obviously does not have a doctorate, does not have a masters, does not actually have a high school education, yet he is a skilled person in the language. We have battled with these institutions to let him provide that service. Not only have we done battle with colleges, but we have battled high schools where we would want these people to come in and work with the young Indian children and the non-Indian students in language and history. They want to put them into the teachers' aid category. These people have a real skill. I know it is an obstacle across the country. The schools will not let the old people come in and teach because they are not certified. That is a crazy restriction when you have this vital need that these people want.

Minerva White: We were funded recently for the Right to Read program. Getting back to how your program works and your use of culturally related materials, we are going to be working with some people at home who are ironworkers who want to learn how to read. Some of them cannot read at all, yet they travel all over the country. We thought we could gear a program for them by starting with their ironworker's manual, menus in restaurants, and road signs. Does it have to be culturally oriented to work, or would these types of things suit our needs?

Antell: If there is a need, an initial interest, as you have pointed out very well, maybe the manual for these people is the crucial start.

Incidentally, we have a Right to Read program, but we have it on the basis of bilingual education. We could not qualify under bilingual education because our children speak English, and only a few speak the native language. We made this an enrichment program for our students. We got it under the Right to Read program so we are teaching reading by teaching language.

M. White: What age groups are you working with?

Antell: In the Indian Adult Basic Education program we are working with ages 17 to 69. We have had trouble with the 17 year old group because they thought our program was much more attractive than those in the schools. We have had many complaints from superintendents and school boards to the effect that we are doing something that is attracting the students and they will not come to school anymore. By trying to provide that kind of experience in secondary education, we hope that they will not want to leave it.

The bulk of our students are probably from ages 25 to 37. This is the age group that makes up the five out of ten who never graduated from school. They are finally getting the GED or getting a high school equivalency and now want to pursue higher education or vocational education. They have four, five, and six children. That means a commitment on the part of the institution to provide resources in order for them to go to school. We have been able to do this with private colleges in Minnesota where it costs $3500 a year. They are putting together a financial package these families can live on. That is going to be a larger and larger demand on higher education in the next few years as these adult education programs continue to expand.

M. White: One thing that we tried to do was to combine the two programs – the GED program and vocational education – as adult education. We could not understand why we couldn't get funding. The people could be taking math and English, or whatever, and be learning to type at the same time. This is what the people wanted. If they are going to come out for three hours, they might as well go the whole bit. The BIA did fund for the GED, but we were trying to work them together and we could not. They said this is the way our programs run all over the country, and this is what you must do.

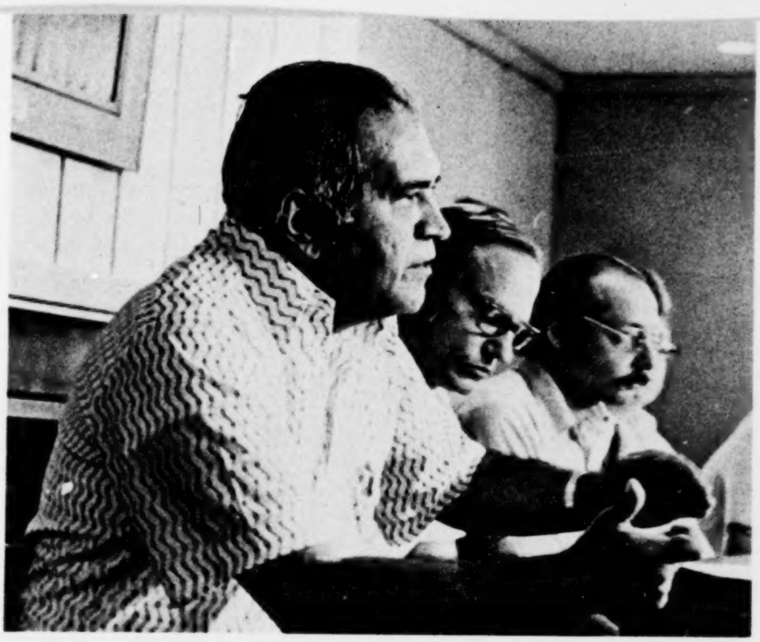
Antell: To a large degree it depends upon the kind of support you receive from your state department of education. We have tried to provide the Family Plan for Indian Education in Minnesota. It is a program encompassing the prenatal right up through higher education. Primarily we think in terms of post-secondary education. We have been given real support.

It is a crucial part of university and higher education responsibility to provide technical assistance to communities so that they might better decide which course to follow. So often tribal leaders get wrapped up with intensive, day-to-day concerns. I know the tribes in Minnesota are very aggressive in housing and getting people jobs. It is hard for them to sit down and talk about an abstract thing like education where the results do not happen today. They happen only with persistent, long-range effort. The benefits and the results are not as easily seen. With the tribal leadership focusing on the immediate needs, it takes another corps of people to point out the resources to assist Indians on the reservation who want to develop educational programs.

Lyman Pierce: What kind of informational vehicle did you use to make yourselves known in the Indian communities?

Antell: My mission for the first six months in the Minnesota Department of Education was to go to every meeting I could possibly go to and discover what the Indian people wanted. I visited all the areas. We did not attempt to do a Havighurst analysis. I simply reported back to the state board that there were four crucial issues. First the lack of communication. There was no respect, no confidence on the parts of the schools or the parents in the Indian community in each other. They were two groups polarized. There was that kind of a tense atmosphere, and we were sending Indian children into those schools. Secondly, curriculum and library needs. The third was what I call life-style conflicts. And the fourth one was, and it hits higher education hard, teacher training. I am picking on the University of Minnesota here, but that institution, surrounded by Indians, was doing little if anything to prepare teachers to serve the schools that have large Indian populations. We also do not have any real force at the administrative level. There are no Indian directors of education. So for the last three years, through the university education department, we have been training Indians on the masters and doctorate levels to become administrators, superintendents, and principals.

I can remember many officials asking, "Where is your data and where is your research?" I did not have any. We had not done a formal study. What we were trying to do was support the programs that these people wanted. There were quite a few restrictions on it in a state operated school system like ours. We have schools for Indian children that are 10%, 15% Indian with very few that are over 50%. But we plunged ahead anyway.



Byron Graves, Tom Havill, Merv Goldbas

Preface

The Committee on Teacher Education conceived its task as extending the guidelines of last year's workshops where necessary and formulating an actual structure for the establishment of teacher education programs with the prerequisite that it include three necessary constituencies – the community, the public school, and the university or college. An important practical consideration in program development was a reliance on a minimum of outside funding. Throughout this conference, concern has been voiced about the duration of funding and the need to change Native American programs from experimental status to functional, ongoing efforts. We believe our proposal will not be any more expensive than a standard teacher education program. It will, however, place greater demands on the time of those individuals involved.

Statement of Philosophy

All persons preparing to become teachers need to develop an awareness for the Native American culture. Those students and teachers who will teach or who are teaching a significant number of Native American children need a program which will concentrate on the Native American culture.

The Committee on Teacher Education believes that one important way to transmit and extend a culture is through structured education. Any teacher education program that involves Native American children should incorporate this as a basic premise. Therefore, students and teachers who will be involved with Native American students must be immersed in the culture in order to transmit it with accuracy and feeling.

At first there may not be enough Native American students to enter the program; therefore, concerned non-Indians will be involved. However, Native Americans must be trained for positions in every branch or department of the educational system. We must have Native American administrators as well as Native American teachers.

THE POLICY BOARD

The principal feature of our teacher education proposal is the Policy Board. The Policy Board is one example of how the number of inputs can be increased while preserving centralized decision-making for a diverse group.

Traditionally, teacher education programs were largely controlled by the teacher colleges. Under a system such as we have outlined here, the teacher colleges will be giving up some of their control over policy and distributing it over a broader base. Policy determination for the teacher education program would be the specific and sole responsibility of the Policy Board.

The Policy Board is a governing body (comparable to a Board of Trustees) comprised of representatives from the three constituent groups – the community, the public school, and the university or college. Within the respective groups provision should also be made for inputs from the students and the local teachers' organization. Each constituency shall determine how its representatives to the Board will be chosen. Board representatives shall be invested with decision-making responsibility for the group they represent.

The Policy Board shall appoint a non-voting coordinator as a member whose responsibilities shall include informing the constituent groups of Board policies, liaison among the groups, and day-to-day administrative duties.

Once the Policy Board is established, implementation of the teacher education program follows from it. Each constituent group shall be subject to its decisions. The Teacher Education Committee did not designate a particular program; instead, the development and mechanics are the responsibility of the Policy Board to implement according to local circumstances. It is the Committee's belief that any teacher education program should incorporate the following principles and objectives:

Members of the Teacher Education Committee: Genvieve Baxter, Merv Goldbas, Byron Graves, Tom Havill, William Hazelton.

Teacher Education Committee Recommendations

With the quality of education greatly dependent upon the human qualities and professional preparation of the teacher, the committee offers a plan for improving teacher education

I. Awareness and sensitivity
  A. Those working in education must develop an awareness for the Native American.
  B. Thorough bicultural training for teachers is necessary in addition to awareness.
  C. Teachers can teach about the Native American in every course in the curriculum.
  D. An interdepartmental or interdisciplinary approach should be used in the colleges.
  E. Courses should emphasize and be oriented to the local Native American situation.

II. Commitment
  A. Community
    1. Must want to improve the educational system for their children.
    2. Must want to perpetuate the Native American culture through the schools and must believe the public school teachers and the teacher college can help provide for this.
    3. Must make resource people available to the educational institutions.
    4. Must make facilities available.
  B. Public Schools
    1. Must modify the curriculum to include Native American history and culture.
    2. Must be committed to in-service programs and grant in-service credit and the appropriate salary increments for these additional credits.
    3. Must give preference to the biculturally trained teacher trainees for available positions in the system.
    4. Must make facilities available.
    5. The Policy Board must make provision for those individual teachers who do not wish to associate themselves with the program.
  C. Teacher Training Colleges
    1. A sufficient number of students committed to Native American education must be available. The program should be made known to the present college student and community populations to recruit interested student and adult members. High schools, community colleges, and four-year college programs are good sources for trainees. Prospective trainees should be exposed to the community and participate in its activities to assess their potential for working with the community.
    2. Professional incentives for the staff should be instituted above and beyond usual compensation.
    3. Field work should be viewed as equally important to on-campus work in the total college program, given the importance of extending the university to the community.
    4. A staff member from the college should act in a supervisory capacity.
    5. The college placement office must notify various schools about these specially qualified students.

DISCUSSION

Lyman Pierce: Would every school involved in teacher training have such a program or would one school specialize in this area?

Merv Goldbas: It is feasible for any college to do this. It would not have to stop with just the Native American community. This is a program that can work with any kind of community.

Gerry Krzemien: Because there are differences between Indian communities, perhaps a regional approach with many different colleges participating might be more valuable. Also, you mentioned reservations, but have you considered urban Indians who now comprise half the population? Would you take the same approach with this group?

Goldbas: It might be a little more difficult to get a program going in an urban area where there is a larger, more diverse

Indian population that is dispersed in many different schools. They might be more difficult to find. But I do not see a problem beyond that if there is a feeling within the community and within the school district to get a program going. If they thought such a program would be beneficial, they might try to locate a large number of students in one school so it would probably be feasible for a university to enter into that kind of program without extra funds.

Pierce: There is a program in eight Indian communities in Wisconsin where during one's senior year and most of graduate school they send the trainee to teach in the school in the Indian community and to work with the young people. They come back to the university only once a month. Do you see this type of program as being necessary or should it be integrated into the regular educational program at the school?

Goldbas: It is necessary for a teacher to be able to do certain things. I do not know if we should get into a discussion of what it takes to develop a teacher. It does not necessarily have to be a two-year program from senior year to first year as a graduate student. At the end of whatever time, if the student is going to be certified to teach, we ought to be able to tell the community that this student can actually teach and define it through the skills that he can do. The length of time is incidental to the end result – certification.

Pierce: Would you be adverse to a screening process consisting of an intercultural setting like the one which a potential teacher might be going into? Maybe a two-week situation to ascertain whether or not the person will be able to handle the cross-cultural situation.

Genevieve Baxter: We mentioned that possibly there are some colleges that might have a participation program where the students would go to the community, spend time in the culture, learn the culture, work there, and find out if they really want it. It would also provide an opportunity for the Indian people to evaluate the student. We talked a great deal about there being a good screening process before they enter and during their stay in the program. Just because they enter the program does not mean that they are going to stay in the program. They may have to leave because they are not suited for it.

Betsy Auleta: Assuming that a regional approach to this program is the most advantageous, do you think that a school which wants to institute such a teacher training program can do so without first having made a real commitment to the general education of Native American students in the community? If such a teacher education program was instituted now, just one program within a university, you would be training, in most places, mostly non-Native American students to be teachers in the Indian community. Do you think that this teacher education program should either wait or work in conjunction with the university in terms of providing an education for Native American college students in its area?

Goldbas: Throughout the course of this conference there seemed to have been a sense of urgency to prepare teachers who know the culture of the Native American student, who have a feeling for it, and who want to work with Native American people. This kind of program would provide a year's experience of directly working with Native American students and the community.

As for commitment, what is taking place on campuses, just for survival, is the extension of the university out into the community. So it seems that the vehicle is there, the population to serve is there, and the pressure from students and other interested groups is there to get programs like this going.

Tony Gullo: What about programs for the teachers in the Native American community schools who have never had this training and who have not had this kind of exposure to the culture?

Goldbas: This is part of the commitment of the public school to in-service training for teachers in Native American culture. University personnel and people from the Native American community could come in, give in-service training in the culture and history, and work with student teachers. The school would give the teachers in-service credits as incentive and pay them that increment in salary.

Robert Wells: The in-service training is really needed first in the form of either a summer workshop or a full orientation period, possibly a week, for those teachers who have been there and those who are coming in to a school district. Before we bring in student teachers trained in a Native American teacher education program, there needs to be a receptive environment.

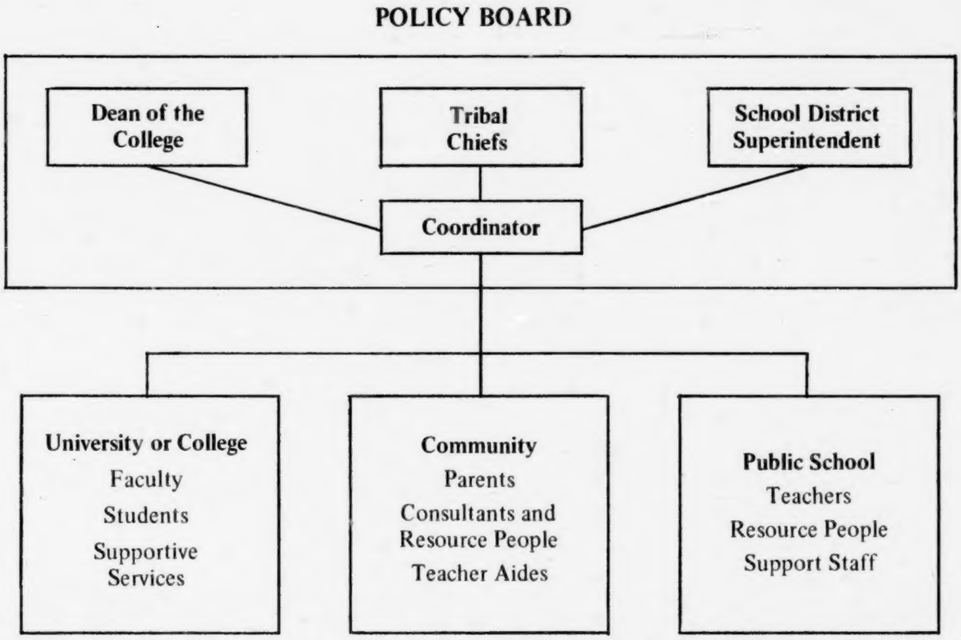
Baxter: In II, B, 5, we made provision for those teachers who do not want to associate themselves with this program. If a teacher is forced to cooperate, it is going to be a rather bad experience for any trainee who lands in that room.

Ida Headley: I think it is probably necessary to by-pass in-service and make a clean sweep of the old guard by forcing them to leave. You simply tell them that they cannot teach Indian children. Then have the new people picked by the community.

Pierce: Seneca Elementary School in Salamanca, New York is doing all kinds of things to try to program for all the students in that school. They bring in parents from the community to work in the classes and they have some teacher aids. They have a secretary who is Indian. They also have an evening adult session for all the parents of the students attending that school. They are working on Indian history and how it will be integrated into the school system; they are working on their libraries, bibliographies, etc. I think it is partly getting the various school communities to become aware of what they can do within their own framework.

Baxter: Maybe there should be an exchange of ideas like that among secondary schools. A group of schools working together can share ideas. Sometimes a group of elementary teachers will listen better if another group of elementary teachers is making a presentation. Sometimes the school teachers get sick of having college professors always coming to tell them what to do.

George Montroy: I was trained in the New York State University system. In the seventh grade social studies curriculum there is a section on the Iroquois. When I was at Plattsburg, we were not required to take any course at all concerned with Iroquois culture. I graduated from a four-year institution and I was supposedly qualified to teach that



Above is a schematic diagram for policy determination by a central decision-making board for a teacher education program which involves the teacher college, the public school, and the community.

curriculum. Shouldn't there be some state requirement in Indian education?

Tom Havill: Our intent with this kind of a design is to make a general "umbrella" model. The individual can be given a general awareness of certain cultural implications. Hopefully, specific awareness will come out in the on-the-job training once the student is out in the specific community. Otherwise, we face the problem of trying to prepare students to work with hundreds of different Indian or other ethnic communities. For example, if a student knows that he is going to work with Senecas, then perhaps something could be tailored to his specific purposes. But with our mobile society today it would be very difficult; it would be better to prepare a student in a general sense, and once he gets on the job, if he is attuned to certain kinds of cultural differences and so forth, then it will be part of his role to search out the information that is more immediate.

Wells: I am amazed that there are three or four experimental multicultural or bilingual teacher education programs in the whole country, yet none of them are aimed at non-Indian teachers. They are all aimed at preparing Indian teachers. I do not quarrel with this priority; however, there are no programs to sensitize, train, or give in-service training for any non-Indian teachers who comprise over 95% of teachers working with Native Americans. And I am concerned about those teachers who are working with the Indian students *right now.* We have got to get at the hard core.

It is the same indictment over and over again: we do not have any say about the curriculum, the curriculum is barren as far as Indian culture is concerned; we do not have any lead-in to the teachers to at least have them understand what our boys and girls are like; we do not have any teachers who are being trained in a way that they will reach out to us. I do not think it makes any difference where one is trained. The basic problems are the same across the country.

Pierce: We ran six workshops in the western New York area in schools that have a high concentration of Indian students. As a follow-up to that we asked the teachers in the various areas if they would be interested in going to an institute. We offered them increment recognition. Many of them said yes. We received twenty names of teachers who would attend a class. But when it came down to actually attending that class, there were two teachers. Of those two teachers that actually attended the class, one was teaching at the seventh grade level. For the whole sixteen sessions she came in knowing that she had already taught this, and at the end of that time she was no further along than when she came in at the first class. So I do not know how to reach those that are already teaching in the schools. There must be some way of getting beyond the egotism of the teachers.

Goldbas: I think we have a vehicle for getting a greater number of teachers interested in taking in-service courses by paying them through regular channels, by providing college credit, and by having the school district pay for those credits. Public school districts pay a specific rate per credit hour for graduate and in-service work according to teacher organization contracts. And beyond that, when there is a commitment expressed by the administration of the school and the teachers in the school, and if it is supported by the community, then teachers will generally be interested.

Wells: Beyond obviously training teachers through the methods course and other professional training, we should have them out for a period of orientation and student teaching. We need a teacher education program with involvement. For instance, everyone of the students who was contemplating teaching might spend a summer as an assistant to the counselors in the Upward Bound program. As part of their program they could get some credit for the orientation while working with the tutor-counselors. I am concerned about a trainee not going into this with his eyes open because I am not sure that we should be preparing people to work with Indian people just because they want to. We have been careful to screen the students who are involved in the tutoring program. There are certain types of students who really want to participate but are not psychologically disposed to work under the kind of ground rules that the Indian community wants them to. This is the case in any teacher education program dealing with ethnic minority groups – it has its own cultural base. With this pre-orientation they would have a chance to see the target community with whom they will be working and to get to know the Indian students. We have had less disenchantment with counselors in the tutoring program if they know what they are going into.

Goldbas: We have made provision for this through junior year participation. In the junior year, maybe even earlier through other courses, students are required to visit classrooms for two, three, and four weeks. During that kind of participation they might very well visit those classrooms in the community they would like to be placed in. But that is the only screening beyond volunteering that we provide for in this program.

Havill: We do not really have firm guidelines in terms of what kinds of people seem to operate best in these unique cultural invironments. If we take the notion of isolation that Henry Schmitt raised, it seems to me that this is a dimension that should be considered in selecting these people. They may be excellent teachers, but, depending on their backgrounds, they could become extremely frustrated if they were isolated from urban centers or cultural centers. Other factors may be significant. These are the kinds of things of which an institution getting involved in this should be cognizant. Perhaps educational institutions should start trying to define what makes a better teacher for a certain situation. We have got to think in terms of a long-range commitment, not the two-year or three-year short-term thing that has been the case traditionally. We need to train teachers who are going to make a career of working with this kind of community.

Pierce: In the statement of philosophy you stated that there may not be many Indian students entering such a program right now and that Indians must be trained to be in the many departments. Your total statement from then on seems to point to non-Indians. My question is, what about qualified Indian teachers within this teacher training program? There are qualified Iroquois people who could go into these programs right now and work with the public school students. More of our students are going to college. We could keep more in our communities if we could provide jobs for them in the nearby public school systems. I would like to see a ratio at least up to par with the Indian community represented in each school.

Baxter: One of our concerns was that students would be prepared for teaching and not have the jobs there. We would like the schools to make a commitment to give preference to Native American students for available positions in the system.

Elizabeth Duran: It has been stressed that it is not desirable to get people involved who are not interested or to get schools involved in a program for Native Americans unless there are enough people who are committed. However, one of the problems is that people have ignored and will continue to ignore this particular group of the population.

The New York State Education Department believes that it is important to include the seventh grade study of the Iroquois. Since a number of people are impressed by what is required or what someone in high authority thinks is important, and since the New York Education Department establishes the curriculum, it could be indicated to those teachers who are going to be involved with the seventh grade unit that it would be desirable for them to try to learn about what they are supposed to be teaching instead of using the hit and miss approach.

Auleta: I think we are being overly polite. I do not see any problem with telling those teachers who are presently in the school system that they have got to go back to school if they want to stay. If they want tenure, then they should take certain education courses. If they want to teach in a school system with Indian pupils, then they have to know how to teach. We are assuming that if they do not know anything about the Native American community, then they do not know how to teach the Indian students in class. It is simple enough to say that they cannot teach American history because they do not know American history.

Wells: I think the key is the superintendent and the supervising principal in the short run, and in the long run it is the teacher training program. Supervisory administrators come out of the same American culture, they reinforce the attitudes that are transmitted in the classroom, and they become defensive when representing their schools against the community. We need administrators who are either Native American or very empathetic toward their concerns.

But more importantly, you have got to be able to guarantee the teacher trainees that they are going to be placed. As Dan said yesterday, we have got to do a job survey. Before a pilot program begins, there has to be a willingness on the part of the state education departments to use some leverage on the contracting schools, stating, for example, that there is a teacher education project at school X in conjunction with reservation and urban communities which is doing exactly the kinds of things that teachers who are working in schools with a high percentage of Indian students need to have. You have got to give those trainees preference, not because they are white, black, green, or orange, but because they have been trained to meet the Indian students' needs. It is no different than programs which train specialists for the physically disadvantaged. If you want a special education teacher, you employ someone who is trained as a special education teacher because he has got the qualifications. But we have to recognize the fact that we are dealing with culturally different people, and the people who are trained should get the priority because they have the skills. The principals, the state education departments, those institutions involved in teacher training, and key representatives of the Indian community have to sit down and develop a program.

Goldbas: I would prefer that one year at the most was spent for planning and in-service, and then let's get the program going and work out some of the bugs.

Pierce: I foresee the day when we will have a New York State Indian Board of Educators or an Iroquois Board of Education because of the unique problems that face both our rural and urban Indian communities. It takes so long for us to acculturate non-Indians and for them to plan a program for us, that we could be talking about twenty years. Until Native Americans do their own planning and programming, I think we are fooling ourselves by saying that somebody else is going to be able to program for us adequately.

Byron Graves: Some of the problems that you are voicing here are some of the problems that we have also in Minnesota. I work in the Division of Education of Teacher Training at Bemidji State College, and we have been wrestling with these concept papers – about the same thing that you have written here where you give parity to the Indian people, the dean, the tribal teachers, the district superintendent and the coordinator. This is all very well and good – theoretically. But the kind of teacher that the Indian community wants, whether it is in New York, Minnesota, South Dakota, or California, has got to come from the Indian people. The crux of your topic at this moment is restructuring education to accomodate a different cultural background. Being in a minority, mathematically, Indians are outnumbered. The Indian is only going to get whatever model is coming out of this policy board. Even though the Indian might have the controlling vote on an advisory board, somebody is going to veto him along the way, particularly if the district superintendent does not endorse his needs and aspiration. That is traditionally how your educational system was set up. The Indian people have to have a controlling voice. If it is going to be for the American Indian people, then they should have the majority of the voice in any model, theoretical concept paper, or what have you.

There is a lot of opportunity for in-service training. Some people say that you have to change those who affect or who are among the present faculty teaching Indian students. We should program the type of teacher training planning and curriculum development – if we are going to go that route – according to the situation. The planning will have to involve the teacher training faculty, the teacher organizations (because they are very strong politically as to any projects that you are going to innovate in teacher training) and the Indian community. And you have to be fair to all of the Indian communities. At least give every group – whether it is religious, political, or economic groups – a voice in the structure of the curriculum or the planning of any teacher training innovation.

I think the conditions are improving so that people are at least recognizing some of the Indian wants, desires, and demands. I would say that they have been listening or have been trying to find out the needs of Indians. But they have not actually gone out to the Indian community and found out the problems. They will ask the opinion of one or two Indian people who are within commuting distance. If you want to be fair, you have to go the full spectrum – include all aspects of Indian people.

Ida Headley: In reference II, A 2, "community commitment to cultural perpetuation," given the nature of our educational system, I do not think that anybody's culture is going to be perpetuated through the schools except what always has been done. All these ethnic groups – blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Indians – their culture is just an appendage to the main thing and after the steam blows over, all of the appendages just fall off. Besides, it is a fallacy to think that the schools are going to perpetuate anything other than what they have been perpetuating. You will get a few courses, but other cultures will not be perpetuated. The Indian students will have to be satisfied with the minimal kinds of things that the educational system is going to provide. I think the phrase "perpetuation of a culture" is really strong and gives the educational system more credit than it is due.

Goldbas: You are probably right. It cannot be worse than it is in terms of perpetuation of culture. By specifically providing a program to perpetuate that culture, it might be better.

Havill: Further, Ida, one of the problems that we had to face was the whole continuum of schools from all-Indian schools to schools with a couple of Indian students in them. We have tried to design something that would fit this whole range of schools, and it is a difficult task. In an all-Indian school presumably this sort of thing would have a rather high chance of being implemented. If it were a school that had a very low percentage of Indians or blacks or Puerto Ricans, then presumably it would be less likely to succeed.

Rough Rock Embarks Upon Multicultural Education

Rough Rock Demonstration School is different. It is not correctly touted as a "new, improved model." Rough Rock is based on an entirely different principle, an accomplishment made possible by Bureau of Indian Affairs "contracting." It is the first experimental school contracted entirely to Native Americans, an all-Navajo school board, who now assume total responsibility for the direction of Rough Rock

The bicultural, bilingual Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock, programmed to train Navajos to teach Navajos, is developing and applying classroom and instructional techniques uniquely suited to the Navajo students of the Demonstration School proper. As discussed by Dr. Henry E. Schmitt, director of teacher education at Rough Rock, any description of the program should begin with the on-site nature of the teacher education and preparation conducted at the Rough Rock school. Rough Rock's teachers are not trained at a far away university in the midst of another cultural world that is largely unrelated to the experience which the new teacher will encounter at an Indian school. The trainees are at the school and in the community located deep within Navajo country. Universities, Dr. Schmitt claims, do not prepare teachers to teach the culturally different. At present, priorities at the university level happen not to be in the area of teacher education. This makes it even more difficult to begin a concerted effort to train Native American teachers who are needed in their communities. Another argument for on-site teacher education is the unsatisfactory university atmosphere. Dr. Schmitt asserted that "about 90% of all the Navajo who go to off-reservation schools, colleges, and universities normally fail to complete the courses studied." Among the many reasons for this record Dr. Schmitt cited the alien nature of university life as too abrupt a transition for most Navajos. And he placed culpability with higher education institutions which "have not adjusted quickly enough to retain the number of students that they ought to retain .... Even Native American studies programs at most universities are poor, nebulous, and opaque," Dr. Schmitt contended.

A Cultural Chasm

The Teacher Education Center provides training for bilingual aides and student teachers. Most non-Navajo teacher interns, Dr. Schmitt finds, "are unable to adjust their teaching styles to specific learning, cultural, behavioral, and sociological problems unique to a given community.... Most Anglo teachers, student interns, and volunteers have not received adequate or realistic preparation in breaking down stereotyped thinking about the Navajo students to develop an appreciation for the resourcefulness of the Navajo youth and an understanding for the cultural chasm between Anglo and Navajo society." Dr. Schmitt expressed it as largely a matter of expectations on the part of the Anglo teacher – if the teacher does not think that the student is going to learn, it just is not going to happen.

Of the regular teaching faculty presently at Rough Rock, Navajos comprise about 35% at the secondary level and about 65% at the elementary level for a composite percentage of 50% Navajo instructors. The bilingual aides, with the exception of one Cree and one black, are all Navajo. The teachers are predominantly women. Bilingual aides are drawn from the community so they are more equally divided between men and women. The bilingual aides form the single largest reservoir of prospective teacher trainees as the non-Navajo people are replaced. In 1972, seven of 15 bilingual aides were promoted, two of whom attained full-time teaching status. Teacher training for non-Navajos is now a short-term policy until the recruitment of qualified Navajos intensifies. The non-Navajo simply cannot be relied upon for long (normally not more than two years), which disrupts the educational continuity that Rough Rock is trying to establish. (Dr. Schmitt admitted that he is often asked when he is going back. The Navajo people know that he can always return to the mainstream society without difficulty.) Rough Rock is willing to advance community people up the career ladder from clerical aid to a Ph.D. instructional specialist program if that is what they want.

Professional Training

By joining in association with the University of New Mexico, the teacher education center of Rough Rock can offer a program leading to full certification or can provide practical experience that will earn credits leading to an Associate of Arts degree for those in paraprofessional areas. This has broadened the breakthrough as previously the University of New Mexico has never allowed people to receive this many credits while working out in the field. In contracting with UNM, Dr. Schmitt was named an adjunct professor at their teacher college and as such provides the link between Rough Rock and the university. The UNM teacher college is invited to send student interns to Rough Rock for field experience under the supervision of the teacher education center staff. The two schools exchange personnel and expertise.

Approximately 75% of the teacher education center staff is comprised of regular faculty from Rough Rock. Rough Rock has some outstanding teachers who know how to motivate, stimulate, and interact with Navajo students, so they share this knowledge with prospective teachers. Outside resource people who lack cultural empathy or understanding are subtly rejected by their Navajo audience.

Teacher education at Rough Rock is structured in phases. Phase one is pre-service. Pre-service serves those people who do not yet have a baccalaureate degree. The first pre-service module is set up for people, primarily interns and Anglos, coming into the community for the first time. The beginners' work starts with an acculturation to the Navajo life style. This is followed up with seminars, language teaching, and interaction analysis.

Phase two is in-service. The teaching schedule at Rough Rock allocates time according to a four day work week with the fifth day set aside for pre- and in-service training. Course topics include bilingual and multicultural child development, migrant teaching, effective methods in teaching, Navajo culture and arts, Navajo plants and foods, reservation politics, economic development, and several other areas which the regular teaching faculty has found valuable during their continuing curriculum development and evaluation.

The primary concern at the teacher education center is the competency base which a teacher can demonstrate according to his or her ability to raise the achievement level of a student within a given period of time. Personal interaction with students is also an important consideration. Interns are observed by the director, regular teachers, the staff, and community, all of whom are not so concerned with the method, but the result: do they utilize helpful processes consistent with Navajo learning? Conflicts in educational method or philosophy do arise. Navajo parents are concerned; they want improved education for their children. They question some of the newer concepts because the Navajo know what the struggle for survival is about and they feel they cannot afford the luxury of experimentation.

Teacher Education Committee in session

The Classroom

Each classroom situation at Rough Rock contains a regular faculty member, a bilingual aide, a parent aide, and maybe either a teacher intern or volunteer. Most of the parent aides are elderly, non-English speaking Navajos who do work in cultural areas and crafts. Actual teaching responsibility is shared between the regular teacher and the bilingual aide. The student-teacher ratio is approximately 1:8.

The classroom reflects different stages in the student's progress. In the first stage or phase, pre-school through grade one or two, the children are taught in Navajo. From 20 minutes to one hour a day is devoted to instruction and activities in English, their second language. The students learn at their own pace. In the second stage, the English and Navajo languages share instruction time.

The bilingual, bicultural aspect of instruction is a model for cultural enrichment; it is not considered remedial in nature. The culture support is above and beyond what is available on the reservation and at home. One of the problems at home is that the parents are working, or one of the parents may no longer live with the student, or a parent may be an alcoholic. Parents, for the most part, do not know how to read or write. Most can speak Navajo and 50% can speak English. Rough Rock, in contrast to former BIA practices, utilizes the Indian environment and encourages the culture.

Unresolved Problems

It was generally agreed that Rough Rock has not yet solved all its problems. Dr. Schmitt does urge caution about throwing around the current cliches and platitudes of community control. Rough Rock still has many obstacles to overcome to achieve a fully community controlled school. For instance, most of the directors are Anglo. Most of the educational decisions are made by these people. Less than 3% of all teachers on the reservation (teaching is the largest source of employment) and less than 1% of all school administrators are Navajo, according to Dr. Schmitt.

Dr. Schmitt also acknowledged the criticism that Rough Rock Demonstration School may, in fact, be a prototype that the Indian community cannot support nor have any hope of supporting. Because of all the services and the student-teacher ratio, Rough Rock's almost guaranteed success was alleged to be an impractical model for general purposes. The per pupil cost at the school is higher than any other public school or other BIA school as a result of all the extras the school offers. Continued funding and, relatedly, ultimate control are issues that have not yet been permanently resolved. With the reluctance of foundations to continue open-ended support and the strings attached to other monies, there is increasing pressure for the Navajo people to become politically involved.

Dr. Schmitt closed the session by responding to a hypothetical question on what advice he would give a high school senior if he were a guidance counselor at Rough Rock. Dr. Schmitt considered the number of Navajo or Native Americans at a given institution as one of the primary factors in any decision. Secondly, he judged the availability of a group of key people within the institution who could be depended upon to provide assistance when the student needed it as an important consideration. Dr. Schmitt also believed the course of study involved and the student's responsibilities at the institution should be critically reviewed by the counselor and the student.

Using Indian Culture in the Open Classroom

The development of Native American oriented teacher training is an objective that also has been incorporated into the University of Arizona's teacher education college. The distinctive feature of this program is that it is one of the Follow Through models based on open education and child centered teaching techniques.

The philosophy of instruction is based on bringing the Indian children's experiences and environment to bear on the subject matter. In this respect, the University of Arizona program is similar in principle to that of Rough Rock Demonstration School and the University of Georgia. But the University of Arizona project represents more of a departure from the conventional classroom structure because of its emphasis on the open classroom with its diverse learning centers and the individual learning interests and paces of its students.

Using Indian Resources

Dr. Vance Frasier, Director of the Indian Teacher Internship Program, and Mr. Jerry Hill, Assistant Director, explained the teacher training project to the Institute. The Bureau of Indian Affairs funded the project to train Native American elementary and secondary school teachers. There are 20 Native American students in the program. The project is targeted to place students with the Pima, San Carlos Apache, and Papago Indians because of all the tribes funded by the BIA, they have the fewest opportunities for educational development among the Southwestern tribes.

The three major tenets of the program are:

1) Teachers can be trained to use the students' own language, culture, and history as a basis for education.

The program attempts to reverse the BIA assimilationist policies by utilizing the Indian cultures and the students' own resources to develop materials for the classroom. On the basis of child development, it is believed that this method will yield the most adequate person. For example, do children learn better with or without their native language is a testable question. Research seems to indicate that use of the students' native language does improve his learning ability. The introduction of another language for the young child to learn in tends to "cut the child off" at the most critical stage of his development.

2) Knowledge of and sensitivity to the community must precede instruction in methods and theory

This is a practical consideration as it allows the interns to absorb methods and theory in relation to at least a minimum of experience with the Indian culture and educational situation. To accomplish this exposure, the prospective interns were first taken on tours of other schools in Arizona. They were then sent to live with families in Mexico as part of a cultural impact laboratory. This demonstrated their ability to live in a culture other than their own (in this case neither Anglo nor Indian) after receiving skills for adjusting to and working in another culture.

2) The total restructuring of the classroom through open education is necessary and valuable.

This principle was adopted because not only does it have merit for education in general, but it is a very positive aid in child development during the early grades.

Learning Through Experience

Dr. Frasier believes that "learning is only as strong as the experience," so the teacher trainees learn to foster student interaction with his environment as an integral part of the learning process. To demonstrate this process in action, a video tape of a short lesson was shown. Using a set of turtles, the teacher guided an exploration of the many questions the turtles raised: physical characteristics, how many, etc. Through their experience with the turtles the students reinforced math, verbal, and cognitive skills. To be successful in this approach the teacher must be trained to discover what there is in the community that can be used in the classroom and what experience the student brings to school with him. The teacher must be sensitive, alert, curious, and flexible.

Professional Training

Training in the first year at the University of Arizona consists of eight weeks of classroom management and teaching aide skills and six weeks on the reservation as a practicing teacher aide during the first semester. The second semester begins with nine weeks of on-campus study mostly with a small group of elementary students in a microteaching laboratory. This is again followed by six weeks on the reservation, only this time the intern does practice teaching.

Teacher trainees at the University of Arizona are guided in their skills development by "unipacks," a training approach similar to the module used at the University of Georgia. Each unipack is a three to four page outline of the particular skill to be learned including the rationale, performance objectives, tasks, bibliographies, and a continuing evaluation process which varies in its application. The teacher education staff is trying to put the training program evaluation on a performance basis: what can the teacher do with the children? Can the teacher successfully perform or utilize a particular technique?

After receiving the skills theory input, implementation is attempted by each trainee through a progressive involvement with children. The skills are first put into practice with one or two children in a specific study area. Students and other study areas are continually added to the group until the training has progressed from small groups of children in concentrated blocks of time to a full replication of the classroom situation.

Open Classroom Remains Controversial

The Arizona teacher education faculty favors the open classroom approach because they believe it will "realize the best person." Dr. Frasier admitted that "it is controversial." The basis for the success or failure of such a program is whether the communities are prepared for the transition from more highly structure conventional education to the open classroom. "Many parents," Dr. Frasier said, "have never been involved with the educational system. They know only one kind of education. They *do* get concerned when a different approach is taken with their children."

Mr. Hill outlined the introduction of such a new concept into a local school as requiring recognition by the community that change is needed and then developing a strategy to carry out that change. Since the community can only make decisions based on the information that they have at their disposal, the full range of alternatives or options must be made known to them. The Indian community can be shown that the open classroom is a successful way to teach their children, according to Mr. Hill.

Several participants were concerned that the extent of impact the program has on changing the curriculum and the value system is not sufficient to strengthen the Indian cultural base and that the new methods still accommodate the old cultural and value orientations. Criticism included the charge that methods and procedures were altered but that the teachers are not really effective change agents. It was suggested that communities must establish purpose and give direction to the educational system in their schools.

Consistent With Departure From the Past

It was generally agreed that a sense of purpose among the community was necessary. Mr. Hill asserted that the Indian community has developed ideas for helping itself. He further commented that historically Indians needed to obtain an Anglo education to assimilate but that now control of their own destinies and the strengthening of their culture through choices and alternatives heretofore unavailable is the Indians' goal. He sees that the philosophy behind the open classroom is consistent with the new options of self-direction for Indian people.

Acceptance by the Indian community of the child centered program, with its emphasis on the growth of the individual, self-reliance, and maximization of individual opportunities and options for personal fulfillment, was challenged. It was argued that open education is too individually oriented at the expense of other kinds of relationships to be desired by a people whose culture relies on or inherently assumes a sense of place within a larger group and all the relations and ties that arise from such a communal way of life. The open classroom, Dr. Frasier rebutted, more nearly reflects Indian cultural traits because it effects a situation where people work together. He found the open classroom to be clearly more suitable for Indian children than the authoritarian BIA classroom.

Teacher education at the University of Arizona operates on the assumption that the "educational system up to this time has been detrimental to Indian children." The open experience – asking students what they want to learn – is seen as a major departure from past practices and is believed to be a better educational process for children. In the debate concerning how to produce meaningful change and have Indians emerge from the subordinate position which they are now relegated to in education, Mr. Hill noted that many educators want the younger students to develop a better image of education and themselves. Improved learning experiences at the earlier levels, which should result as a consequence of these new teaching techniques, will likely lead to greater success in higher education for the Indian student, he asserted.

Reshaping Education in America

An education system which either ignores or distorts Native American life is called to task

by Lyman Pierce

America is totally ignorant of what Native Americans are all about. It is easy to think that Native Americans and their way of life is a simple topic to handle. Once you have opened the book, however, and you traverse through the various pages of our history, it soon becomes clear that the subject is complicated, involved, and in some cases, ambiguous.

The general statistical picture of Native American life in the United States is not a pretty one. They have an average life span of 44 years, 20 years less than non-Indians. Their children complete less than nine years of school and the dropout rate is twice the national average. Their average income is $1,500 per year and their unemployment rate is ten times that of non-Indians. The infant mortality rate in 1961 was 43 per 1,000 live births compared to 25.3 per 1,000 for the United States population in general. Reservation housing is often substandard. The suicide rate among teenagers is three times the national average. On some reservations it is even 10 times as high. Alcoholism is a chronic problem. Added to this picture is a decreasing landholding situation. Native American holdings have shrunk from 138 million acres in 1887 to 55 million acres today. If these statistics are in any way indicative of Indian life in America today, it is clear that for Native Americans the American dream is not even a dream, it is something akin to a nightmare.

Anyone familiar with Native Americans today knows that they have been virtually ignored not only in the classroom and the textbooks but also in the overall history and educational evolvement of America. This neglect has left us with little information or at best distorted information about the original people of the Western Hemisphere. In order to correct this situation a considerable amount of research into Native American studies, introduction of such material into the classroom, and articulation by Native Americans themselves is necessary. Hopefully, such an *avant-garde* can change the distorted and neglected image of Native Americans and enable Americans to learn about and appreciate their respective cultures (life-styles), religions, governments, philosophies (life-views), and logic along with their roles in the development of this country we call America.

Two problems need to be resolved or at least considered in an initial approach to Native American studies. The first problem has to do with the diversity, complexity and vastness of Native American cultures. The second problem has to do with the definition of an "American Indian."

Many attempts are being made today to conduct Native American studies. However, it is an unwieldy subject either for the classroom or a textbook, at least under the rubric of "American Indian." Although Native Americans are a minority of minorities, they still cannot be treated as simply one ethnic group. The present census figure for Native Americans in the United States is 800,000. In fact, this figure is less than one per cent of the total population. The conclusion could be drawn that treatment of Native Americans should be no problem at all either in the classroom or in a textbook. However, closer scrutiny of the situation reveals a different state of affairs. There are over 250 different tribes still extant in America. What is most crucial here is that each tribe has its own unique history, culture, language, religion, government, and self-understanding. Is it any wonder then that historians and ethnohistorians often throw up their hands in despair as to how they should treat the "American Indians?"

Approaches to Native American Studies

What is the best way to approach an adequate understanding of Native Americans? Let me begin with a few words of caution. First of all, do not believe everything you read about Native Americans. Secondly, be highly selective of the materials used for a course of study. As one works through the materials on Native Americans today, it becomes increasingly clear that a considerable amount of original research and development must be done before the Native American story can be properly appreciated and told. This state of affairs puts a great burden on the person contemplating a course of study or attempting to understand Native Americans today. However, unless one does his or her own research, one can fall into the trap of believing an "Indian expert." In the third place, the person who deals with Native American studies, either in a developmental way or in a communicative way, needs to examine his or her mental set toward New World people so that as unbiased a course of study as possible may be developed. Attitude plays an important role in how one treats Indian myths and stereotypes as well as the whole problem of Indian-white relationships for the last 400 years. Finally, one needs to be aware of the fact that Native American studies can be very deceptive. From one viewpoint Native American issues and concerns can appear very simplistic and easily handled, but looked at from another viewpoint (for instance, an Indian viewpoint) the very same issues and concerns become highly complicated and seemingly irresolvable.

A popular approach is to do a case study of a particular tribe. This approach often concerns a nearby tribe. While this approach is certainly useful as an introduction to Native American cultures, what about the national Native American historical and political perspective? Clearly, America needs to know the contributions that Native Americans as a total group have made to this country.

Another approach that has gained some acceptance is to deal topically with issues that affect most of the tribes. One might deal with Indian-white relationships, Indian wars, Indian land issues, Indian treaties, Indian law, United States government policies toward Indians, racism and American Indians, or the problematic legal status of Indians in America. If these topics were exhausted or seemed uninteresting, one could consider Indian education, the economic picture, health and welfare conditions, housing problems and needs, employment concerns, or Indian movements. Still another approach is to consider a national view by means of tribal examples taken from different regions. After each tribe is considered individually a comparative analysis is made of them all. Another approach is to study Native Americans via one discipline or sever disciplines.

Defining the "American Indian"

The second problem in approaching Native American studies is arriving at an adequate definition of Western Hemisphere people. What do we mean when we say "American Indian?" To begin with, the original inhabitants of this land are neither Americans nor Indians. The Americas were named after Amerigo Vespucci, and "American Indians" were declared citizens of the United States in 1924 without their consent. As for the second part of this label, namely, Indian, it was a term inappropriately given to the people of the Western Hemisphere when Columbus came to the New World and thought he was in India. Therefore, the label "American Indian" is a misnomer and inappropriate to use as a general classification. However, this is the term that most people use whenever they want to refer to the original inhabitants of the New World. While some use aborigines, Native Americans, First Americans, and other labels, clearly a new term is needed. Hopefully, the original people of the Western Hemisphere can come up with an appropriate generic term that will be adequate and more acceptable to the people of the Western world.

In addition to the problems with the general term "American Indian," the problem of defining who and what is an American Indian is compounded by the rise and use of various myths and stereotypes. Myths abound which were created by the various media such as TV, radio, comics, and stories. Some of the myths indicate that Native Americans are stoical, passive, and inarticulate. You no doubt have heard of the "wooden Indian," "the cigar store Indian," the notion that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian," or that Indians are generally lazy and drunks. Other concepts involve scalping, the notion of a savage, being uncivilized and often unintelligent. Essentially, the stereotypes fall between two extremes: the romantic notion of the noble savage and brave warrior syndrome to the derogatory stereotypes of the ignorant, savage beast, the benign creature of the forest and/or the lazy, drunken Indian. Between these two extremes lie all kinds of definitions as to who and what is an "American Indian."

One other term needing mention because it has gained usage today is the term "pan-Indianism." This refers to Native Americans who are for Indian rights and ways, but who move and find their identity more in intertribal activities and common Indian beliefs rather than being distinctively and particularly tribal oriented.

The organizations which deal with Indians and/or their affairs exacerbate the situation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes a person as Indian if he has one-fourth Indian blood and can prove it. State governments generally recognize a person as Indian if he is on the tribal rolls. As for the U.S. census, a person is Indian if the father is Indian. This criteria, however, often goes contrary to the Indian criteria. A few years ago the U.S. Army had us mark the Caucasian race as our race. Today many anthropologists are saying that we are of the Mongoloid race. Some state that the Paleo-Indians were of Caucasoid-Mongoloid stock. In light of these various and sundry definitions, is it any wonder that a very confusing state of affairs exists in the United States and elsewhere as to the proper definition for "American Indians?"

A Native American View

Perhaps at this point we should consider what Native Americans themselves think about this definitional problem. Most tribes have a way of identifying who belongs to them. This is generally done by maintaining a tribal roll. However, all tribes do not have the same criteria for allowing a person to be on their rolls. For instance, one tribal group may follow a patrilineal line of descent whereas another tribe may follow a matrilineal line. In some cases of intertribal marriage the children are allowed to choose their tribe. Thus, to most Native Americans tribal membership and affiliation is the way they prefer to be recognized. Clan, community ties and environmental set play secondary roles in defining who and what they are. Only as a distant third or fourth do we think of ourselves as "Indians," if at all.

Finally, most Native Americans fall into three ideological stances today (the nomenclature can vary but in my opinion there are these three ideological groups): (1) traditionalism; (2) progressivism; and (3) assimilationism. Depending on how the person emphasizes his identity and/or his career determines to a great degree where that person is in regard to traditionalism, progressivism, and assimilationism or a combination of these stances. Traditionalism generally involves the native religion, strong allegiances to the pertinent Native American nation, and a strong sense of Indian identity. Progressivism generally involves a person's attempt to live in more than the Indian world (biculturalism or cosmopolitanism). Such a person tries to take the best of both worlds – the Indian and mainstream American life. The assimilationist generally minimizes his identity problems and sees himself simply as a human being and lives this way. He further stresses the career aspect and lives more in this sphere of his life than in terms of his identity.

As a person goes further into the subject of Native Americans he will be forced often to return to this issue of definition. Time alone will reveal what direction this definitional problem will take. It is clear that with over 250 tribes still existing in America today this tribes issue is not dead. In fact, if one is serious about understanding who and what we are, one must come to grips with this highly problematic and confusing issue and resolve it in some fashion. Probably, the most satisfying way to refer to Native Americans is primarily by means of their tribe or nation, clan, and environmental set.

It is difficult to consider the problems and issues of Native Americans today without understanding their history, their culture, and the relationships that have developed since 1500 between the people of the Western Hemisphere and the immigrants from Europe. The only ones who have written with some regularity on this topic are the anthropologists. But they have been more interested in pre-Columbian issues, artifacts, and objective cultural facts than with the essence of Native American culture or what I choose to call "Native American Ethnohistory." By and large, the anthropologist's interest and focus is still on that early period. Only by their use of the "ethnological present" do they begin to cope faintly with Native American societies today. Perhaps the belief in the myth that the Native Americans were vanishing or have vanished has contributed to this educational omission.

Since 1969, however, America has become painfully aware of a new minority. Native Americans were rediscovered, and their plight has brought more guilty thoughts to the already burdened American conscience. In fact, Native Americans are determined today never to be bypassed and overlooked again. Many of them feel they have a vital role to play not only in the reconstruction of their own communities but in other American communities as well.

In trying to understand Native Americans properly, one needs to understand how Native Americans view history. History as we have normally understood it in America has been written from one viewpoint, namely, the white European viewpoint. It is no longer possible to understand American history from this viewpoint, however. With the growing demands of the various cultural groups in America who want their history recognized in terms of the overall American

Joel Bixby, Lyman Pierce, Tony Gullo

perspective, it is clear that we are moving into an era when we must consider history from many different viewpoints.

Textbook History

Before we consider Native American history in particular, let us look at a few examples of past treatment of the Native American in the textbook. One example is as follows:

> . . . the Indian wars had caught the American imagination. Custer's last stand at the Battle of Little Big Horn; the gallant flight of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce through the snows of Montana as they struggled to escape the reservation; the war whoop of the Comanche warrior – all stirred something deep in the American consciousness. For with the passing of the Indian, the frontier had passed. Americans knew that almost four centuries of history had ended.[1]

This statement in a general history book of the United States was written in 1964. Another one written in 1965 is also interesting. It is as follows:

> In peace as in war the Indians have had a profound effect on later comers to America. Our culture has been enriched by their contribution. Our character is very different from what it would have been if this continent had been uninhabited when the Europeans arrived. It was a good thing for our forebears that they had to fight their way into the New World; it will be a sorry day for their descendants if they become too civilized to defend themselves. As the Algonquian warrior of old drank the blood of his fallen enemy in order to absorb his courage, so the people of America may thank the brave redskins who made their ancestors pay dear for the mastery of a continent.[2]

Let me present one more sample of a history book viewing Native Americans. This one is taken from a text of the 1930's. It reads:

> . . . the more intelligent [Indians], like the Iroquois tribes of what is now New York State, had a crude sort of government. There were probably not more than from three hundred thousand to three hundred and fifty thousand Indians north of the Gulf of Mexico, and they were a treacherous, cruel people who inflicted terrible tortures upon their captured enemies . . . Of course, it was impossible that these few hundred thousand natives should stop the spread of the Europeans over the country. That would have been to condemn one of the fairest lands of the earth to the stagnation of barbarism.[3]

Many other examples could be cited, but this is sufficient to give some indication of the treatment Native Americans have had in the textbooks in the past and even today. Clearly, the nature, history, and significance of Native American cultures have been greatly distorted. If a balanced and sound interpretation of the history of America is desired, then it is apparent that the Native American story must be retold giving them their rightful place in the total development of America.

When we begin to consider the Native American historical perspective in particular and within the larger context of

The Native American Contribution

When we begin to consider the Native American historical perspective in particular and within the larger context of

American history, we must consider their roles as they attempted to define their homeland, how they attempted to cope with the various European cultures, how they perceived the emerging American nation, and the Native American role in its evolvement. Furthermore, one must not only consider the conflicts but the contributions as well. At various times in American history Native Americans have distinguished themselves in what they did. Just to cite one example, the Native Americans provided the United States with 25,000 of their finest young men for World War II duty out of a total population of 500,000. One must also consider the ways in which Native Americans originally helped the early immigrants to this country to adjust. In the early contact days Native Americans had a good image in the New World and were heavily involved in the economy because of the fur trade. However, as land interest increased and more people immigrated to this country, the Native Americans were forced to fight for their lands. Thus other images came into being that were not always positive, to say the least. Looking at the historical developments of America through Native American eyes we see new areas of interest that have never been presented before. For instance, if it were not for the Iroquois fighting the French during the French and Indian Wars, we might be speaking French today. If it were not for some of the Iroquois fighting with the colonists and others staying neutral, we might still be British subjects.

Another example of the role of Native Americans in American history is the contribution that the Iroquois made to the development of the Constitution of the United States of America. Several scholars of the Iroquois culture and government allude to the fact that the founding fathers of America used or copied the political structure of the Iroquois Confederacy to build and develop their own. Sheehan writes:

> Fenton seems to think it possible that the Iroquois federation served as archetype for the federal constitution. And Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., using Franklin's exasperated but quite conventional comparison of the supposed political accomplishments of the Indians and the ingrained divisiveness of the colonies, maintains that the Iroquois league had an "indirect" influence on the establishment of the union and the structure of the new government in 1789.[4]

Other examples of such statements could be cited. However, this statement illustrates the kind of research that still remains to be done for the more than 250 tribes in the United States of America. It just might be that American democracy must be laid at the door of the Iroquois Longhouse rather than credited to the politicians of England or the notion of democracy in Greece. Certainly, we have our work cut out for us as historians and educators.

A note of warning needs to be sounded here. Do not put the Native Americans into one historical mold! The vital role that the Iroquois played in the French and Indian Wars and the early days of the development of our country is not the same kind of history as the Trail of Tears or the development of the Cherokee alphabet. Moreover, the miraculous retreat in the face of great odds by Chief Joseph is not the same as the Native American "My Lai incident" at Wounded Knee in 1890.

Much to be Accomplished

Let me give you further indications of the direction Native American history must take in trying to develop both the particular and overall Native American historical perspective. I gave a test to some teachers in the western New York area recently and I asked them to name the six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. No one could raise their hand signifying that they knew the answer. Teachers – in the homeland of the Iroquois. Clearly, some sound courses on Native Americans need to be established not only in our colleges, but in our entire educational system.

In 1972 people are astonished that Native Americans still live in New York State. The history of Native Americans in New York is enough to cover several volumes. In 1960 the census stated that there were 16,500 Native Americans in New York. Most of these people reside on nine reservations with some in the larger cities. The 1970 census indicates that there are 28,300 Native Americans in New York State. It further points out that there are Native Americans in every county in the state. While Native Americans believe this figure still to be inaccurate as to total number, these figures do indicate that Native Americans are not and have not vanished from this state.

Finally, using the Iroquois people as an example again to show the breadth of historical research which needs to be done, it is the case that there are Iroquois in Canada as well as New York. There are also Iroquois people in Wisconsin, northeast Oklahoma, and many of the major cities in our country. What kind of ties exist between these communities? Is their political structure still functioning? Is their early way of life still a part of their life today? Of course a crucial question is, is the early Iroquois political structure and way of life viable for 20th century Iroquois and/or 20th century America? To answer these questions one must know what this political structure is, what the Iroquois way of life is, and finally, how it is operating today.

More Than Facts and Interpretations

Another note of guidance is in order here. If one is to consider Native American history as seen through the eyes of the Native American, one must proceed in the direction of "ethnohistory." Ethnohistory is a combination of culture, historical fact, and interpretation. Native Americans never like to divorce values from objective fact. Scholars have analyzed and dissected history in such a piecemeal fashion that we no longer can see the whole picture. Native Americans say that history involves more than facts and interpretations; it involves feelings, intuitive insight and one's personal standing within that particular framework.

Another aspect of Native American life that needs to be reconsidered is their various cultures. While anthropologists have diligently studied pre-Columbian aspects of their culture, little has been done to arrive at the very essence of their way of life. By this I mean Native American philosophy, psychology, logic, ethics, sociology, etc. Because of their criteria for studying cultures, their methodology in collecting data, as well as their peculiar theory of man, anthropologists have failed to see the Native American in proper terms. While this treatment is better than no treatment at all, it is not sufficient to understand Native Americans. Sociologists are another group which has done very little in respect to Native Americans as though they had already vanished. Historians have considered Native Americans, but generally in terms of a brief moment of Native American interaction with white history. And so, where one discipline has seemingly studied us well, it has still failed to understand us properly. Other disciplines have done very little in the area. So by and large, America has remained uninformed as to the Native Americans' true state of affairs.

Where does one start in attempting to understand Native American culture and cultures? In the anthropological sense, culture has been thought of as the total way of life of a people. Most sociologists refer to culture in a similar fashion, but their emphasis is generally on statistics rather than mores and/or customs. While I have suggested that history in respect to Native Americans go in the direction of ethnohistory, clearly anthropology and sociology have a lot to contribute to the ethnological part of this view. However, culture as used in respect to Native Americans needs to be upgraded. Their cultures are sometimes referred to as sub-cultures implying that they are not equal to the main or dominant culture. In short, it is time that we move toward a new understanding of culture in America – equal, but different. The general trend toward multicultural and multi-ethnic education in some of our schools may correct some of this thinking and attitude. However, much still remains to be done today in the area of human relations as well as in the understanding of different cultures.

Cultural Distinctions

In respect to intercultural trends, it has been the case that blacks have wanted to join the mainstream of American society but have been barred. Native Americans have persisted in their stubborn refusal to join the mainstream of American society but the mainstream and the government has not left them alone in this regard. There has been a long history of America's attempt to forcibly acculturate Native Americans into the mainstream of American society. Thus acculturation, assimilation, and intercultural relations are somewhat suspect in the minds of Native Americans. They know what pain accompanies these activities. Beyond this, their inclination is toward "ethnic insularity" rather than "ethnic togetherness."

The new definition of culture in respect to Native Americans must be people-centered, incorporating strong people values rather than economic or statistical values. For instance, American values are based on a high level of competition in respect to money and property, and the identity of most Americans is molded and defined by their job roles. However, in the Indian community one's identity is based on family ties, community ties, clan affiliation, and tribal enrollment. Thus, when a Native American loses his job, he has not lost his identity. If an American becomes jobless, however, he has lost a great deal of his identity. And so, identity (and how it is defined or arises) has far-reaching effects when it comes to developing an understanding of one's culture.

The Native American is further bound to his culture by his religion. It is a part of his culture to do so because it is a part of his training and total way of life. While there are definite distinctions in the various Native American religions, there still is an underlying fabric of religiousness that binds the total psychic understanding of the Native American to religious beliefs.

Let us consider one religion in particular. The Iroquois people have traditionally been known as the "Longhouse people." This is their native religion. In the early days it was vitally linked with their political structure. In fact, in the early Confederacy you could not separate the religious aspect of the Iroquois from their political setup. It included moral teachings, religious beliefs, and a polity. The early teachings were called "the way of peace." It was founded primarily to establish peace among the Five Nations and to maintain it for them against other nations. If one simply reads the anthropological writings on the Iroquois one might get the impression that the Longhouse religion is the only religion still practiced in the various communities. However, Wallace states that only 5,000 belong to the Longhouse in New York. If you subtract 5,000 from 28,300, you can immediately see that a large portion of the Iroquois communities are made up of Catholics, Protestants, those who may not have any specific religious affiliation, as well as those who belong to the Longhouse.

Considering the evolution of the Longhouse Religion per se, one will find that there are two different groups. The Canadian Iroquois primarily follow the early teachings. In New York the Longhouse people are primarily followers of the reformed teachings of Handsome Lake. Some Canadian people look down on the New York Longhouse for practicing this distorted faith (in their estimation). In essence, the New York Longhouse teaching is a combination of Quakerism, early Iroquois teachings, and Handsome Lake's personal thoughts. This combination created the new Longhouse thought of the *Gaiwiio* or "the good message."

However, the culture of the Iroquois and other Native Americans is not based simply on religious beliefs and/or political structures but is further defined by their philosophy which we might term "the Indian way." Native Americans are highly intuitive and see life in a holistic fashion. Moreover, Native Americans see their world on a person to person basis and they are highly cognizant of their community ties. In fact, they insist on keeping personal relationships as a high priority in all of their dealings.

The logic that Native Americans adhere to stems from a great tie with the land. They are very aware of the operations in many areas of their lives including the way they think. They recognize that they go back to the dust of the earth; therefore, they are part of the cycle of nature. They further recognize that their ancestors are part of the stuff out of which their present day crops grow. They also realize that you cannot play with the cycle of nature without affecting the work of nature. It is to the discredit of our technologists today that they have not realized this until recently. American technology has enabled all of us to pollute and destroy many areas of our country by not being mindful or even aware of this very principle.

If we would return to the Native American's concern for the naturalness of life and attempt once more to live with nature, that is, live in harmony with the elements and forces of our world instead of trying to always harness and control such elements and forces, it is possible that we might be able to restore our earth so that it will be less polluted and more suited for human beings. This issue, of course, has taken on new meaning today because we have lived out of harmony with nature and have seen the results. For this reason, Native American philosophy is up-to-date today.

There are many contemporary problems in Native American education which are specific and need immediate attention. Many of the concerns demand considerable discussion and vary with individual experience. A brief outline of the quality of Indian education in New York State on the elementary and secondary levels may be of service to demonstrate the need for reshaping education in America.

The dropout rate seems to have lessened somewhat among New York Indian students during recent years, but it continues to be a problem. In the past the Indian dropout rate has been twice the national average. According to Mr. Harold G. Segerstrom's 1969-70 report, there were 45 dropouts in grades 7 through 12 out of 1,024 Indian students. He cites 180 dropouts out of 9,172 non-Indians at the same schools. He sees these drop out rates as being down from previous years. However, comparison of these two averages per thousand puts the New York Indian dropout rate at still twice the non-Indian dropout rate, at least at the same schools.

Absenteeism seems to be the most serious and devastating problem of Native American youth. If you are not in school you simply do not get your lessons. Many school administrators see absenteeism as a symptomatic problem among Indian youth. Recent newspapers indicate that it is a statewide problem and even a national problem. It is the belief of the Indian people that Indian absenteeism is more than simply a cultural consequence. It has many causes. Native American children are unable to compete academically for such reasons as inadequate transition into a white, middle-class oriented classroom, and increasing deficiencies as they progress through the grades in academic skills such as reading and writing. Also, they are often unaware that school marks have a definite bearing on future academic endeavors. Basically, the Native American parents see Indian absenteeism as the child caught between two different cultures, each competing for his loyalties and allegiances.

According to national tests administered in 1965, Indian children scored consistently lower than white children at every grade level in both verbal and non-verbal skills. For instance, in 1971, one senior class in New York had a cumulative average of 78. Student statistics from another school revealed that over one-half of the students in the slow learner class are Indian students. This means that there is a definite need for help in the area of higher academic achievement so an Indian student can compete for admission to college and the world of business. Low academic achievement seems to be expected of our children, so this expectation becomes self-fulfilling.

Often discrimination toward Native American children is set. It only exists because the Native American appears to be non-aggressive [illegible]ent. Discrimination also appears in the stereotyping [illegible] American students as being low academic achieve[illegible] short, they are taught in many ways that they can be [illegible]struction workers and iron workers, but they are seldom told they could also make good doctors, lawyers, and judges, to say nothing of being assisted toward these goals.

Values in the Public Schools

At the present time there is considerable debate in the Native American community as to values and how they are taught in the public school classroom. Native American parents have always educated their children orally and personally and in concrete terms. As soon as the students get into the public school systems, they encounter abstract thinking, a textbook, and an impersonal teaching figure. Sometimes it can be hard for a youngster who has heretofore been taught in a different manner. Nevertheless, Indians generally realize that they need a certain amount of education in order to compete economically in a competitive society. The dilemma is whether he can have his cake and eat it too – can the Native American student satisfactorally achieve in our public school systems and still retain his Indianness? It is an area of vital concern to the Native American parents today. It is believed some changes are needed immediately so that Native American youth will be culturally enriched in school rather than culturally annihilated. Native American students have also expressed such concern.

Indian parents believe that teachers who teach Indian youths should have special orientation. Indian teachers should be sought to teach Indian youth wherever possible. In the field of counseling and guidance it is a known fact among Native Americans that Native American youth do not seek counseling services. It does not seem to be a known fact among guidance counselors generally. Therefore, since Native American youth do not have a middle-class orientation, they need to be sought out in order to be counseled. However, they do not always express their needs to a non-Indian counselor. Thus, their needs go unnoticed many times.

Several problems have been mentioned. There has been no attempt to resolve them, but rather an awareness of the difficult problems has been the objective. This is but an indication of the work that remains to be done to bring understanding and communication between the Native and non-Native American cultures.

DISCUSSION

Lonnie Morrison: Many of the points you made can be applied to a number of minority groups in terms of attrition, dropout, low achievement, unemployment, drug addiction, alcoholism, and suicide rates. You said that you want to "reshape" American education. Understanding how education in America works, how do you propose to do this? How do you propose to do this without combining and getting involved with a number of minority groups? Do you think this should be done on a spearate basis with each going his own separate way? When you talked about direction you did not talk about implementation or design in "reshaping education in America."

Pierce: I am suggesting that education in America has to be reassessed and reexamined; that all of us have to have some kind of control in the future educational policies, in the future directions of our educational institutions in America.

Morrison: You also made a statement about blacks wanting integration in America. I will register my disagreement with you and let it go at that.

Pierce: I am using that generally; there are really too many things to say about it. I just wanted to differentiate the early black movement in terms of striving for integration and the Indian concern with the retention of our identity while having forces pushing us to assimilate culturally.

Ida Headley: You mentioned three political and ideological stances. How do you see yourself, and how or why have you arrived at that particular standing?

Pierce: Basically I am trying to convey a summary understanding of the political forces in the Indian community. I am trying to put labels on them which may not be adequate. I am not saying that all Native Americans will define them this way. I just wanted to point out the diversity of stances. In terms of my own position, I find myself in a traditional-progressive combination at this point.

Oren Lyons: I am a hereditary chief. My purpose in life is set and that is to perpetuate the *Hodenosaunee*. That and only that. Our people will survive as we always have by adapting. However, our principles we maintain. The language is clear in the law. If you have deviated in the past and you follow another path, then you are confused. Our laws clearly state who is *Ongwehonwe* and who is not; there is no confusion. You spoke of the *Gaiwiio* as a mixture of Quakerism, Iroquois teachings, and Handsome Lake's personal thoughts to be looked down at by our brothers that live on the other side of the Niagara. This is not true. I have sat in many councils there and here, and they have sat with us. We never argue about religion.

You spoke of education; we intend to do it separately. There is no confusion; we know what we want because we do have direction set down for us in the law. As long as we follow it, we will exist. When we deviate we will disappear and become lost.

Pierce: All of us have different views and we live and die with what we believe in. These religious views are very personal, very difficult to discuss; maybe more so in terms of Native Americans. And yet, I think that if we ask for diversity, the right to be different from the world at large, then within our own communities we also ought to be able to allow for diversity. I think that the Iroquois way ought to allow for each brother's vision. Whether it is truth or not, that is difficult to judge. I cannot judge for you. I walk as best as I see.

Lyons: I meant to add, on our reservation, Onondaga, we have five different churches. These are for the people that choose to go in that direction. However, they follow the leadership of the *Hodenosaunee*, the hereditary chiefs. There is no question there. And another thing, by your birthright you are Longhouse. That is what *Hodenosaunee* means – it has nothing to do with religion. It is your birthright; it belongs to you. And whether you follow the father's side or the mother's side, the clan, which is your identity, is always the mother.

Pierce: Is that still practiced in Canada, the mother's side for the clan?

Lyons: Certainly; anywhere. The mixup they have in Canada by going by the father's side is only because the Canadian government forced that through the Indian Act. And those people disagree with it. It was by coercion and by force that they were subjected to this split. That is why we maintain ourselves and why no one can come upon our reservation and tell us what to do.

Lloyd Elm: I would like to go one step beyond what you gave relative to the problems Indians face. You mentioned the problem of dropouts, absenteeism, and several other problems that exist within Indian education. I do not regard those as problems. Those are symptoms of the main problem which is the education system that is in New York State today. The education system was designed for the white, middle-class Anglo-Saxon. It never has been, it is not today, and it never will be justifiably efficient to educate any ethnic minority group. A change is going to come about; maybe by coalition, I do not know. We, the *Hodenosaunee*, the Onondaga, we are going to do our thing. And I hope to hell that the black people do their thing, and the Chicanos do their thing and the Puerto Ricans do theirs. The tardiness, the dropout rate, these are not problems, these are symptoms. The value systems are designed by the white, middle-class Anglo-Saxon. The reason Indian students are placed in these slow learner groups is because of standardized tests. The NEA is now considering a moratorium on all standardized testing for all groups.

We have a plan at Onondaga that has been described as being separatism, and that is exactly what it is. We are going to implement that plan regardless of what that bureaucracy thinks. I heard you tell that man that we do not have a plan, but we *do* have a plan.

Pierce: No, I did not say we, I said I do not have a plan.

Larry Lazore: I think the point that Lloyd was trying to make is that we have plans for separate Indian schools. Indian communities have gone ahead in setting up exactly what they want. I know the Onondagas have their plans laid out. There are situations, however, where the *Ongwehonwe* are in the public school systems in the cities. I think you were talking about the revamping of multicultural education where the Indian is not in the position to move into a completely separate school population-wise.

Tony Gullo: What about the Indians who are not living on the reservation? What do you feel about them? Do you have any accommodation in your plan for these people? What about the people who are living in the cities?

Elm: Our plan includes those people who want to come back to the reservation area. It is their choice. Do you think we should force them to come back?

Gullo: No, but I think part of what Lyman was addressing himself to was a concern for those kinds of people, too.

Lyons: The coalitions we have now include the Syracuse urban Indians because we know our brothers are out there. I would say it is almost 100% that they are going to send their children to our school. Of course we will teach them. They are included. But if they choose another direction, it is perfectly all right. It is up to them. We will provide a place for them to come to. It is the best we can do.

Elm: Chief Lyons mentioned this to Mr. Pierce. He said that by birth they are members of the *Hodenosaunee*. What they choose to do is their choice. Our laws are very explicit relative to moving back and forth; they are well defined. There is no discussion.

Elizabeth Duran: Checking through different historical materials, I have noticed a very distinct change in the treatment of black culture and history. One would think it sufficient that one minority group had drawn attention to cultural biases and the need for cultural respect. But in these very same books that have a somewhat sympathetic view toward the blacks, the Indian is still portrayed in the stereotyped manner. While I think that these groups should work together, each group has to do some work on its own. Just because one group is advancing and getting some respect, it does not necessarily mean that another group will automatically be accorded similar treatment. I have been astounded that textbooks have made what are thought to be major changes in one area, and yet the authors have not had the perception to acknowledge parallel situations with other minority groups as well.

Morrison: You mentioned a need for one generic term to describe all Indians, a term that "the man" has given him. How realistic is this concept of a term that would include all Indians? Have you, in fact, come up with one of your own?

Pierce: If I may project it further, it is not just American Indians we are talking about, it is Western Hemisphere people – Canada, Mexico, South America. The term Indian has been used in an attempt to label or define these people for discussion purposes or whatever. I am suggesting that while it is used it is inadequate. Whether an adequate form will come up I do not know. Western Hemisphere people ought to come up with one. Actually, though, our general understanding of ourselves is not in that fashion. We think in terms of our tribe, clan, and environmental set in understanding ourselves.

Ray Coley: Why come up with a generic term? Just for the convenience of "the man" so he can generalize and stereotype all the different groups? The other thing is, you keep saying that you respect the vision of your brothers. Idealistically, it sounds good. The problem has been that the dominant group or culture has never respected minority visions. We are putting ourselves in a pretty shaky position when we are respecting their visions and their rights and they are not respecting ours. I did gain some insight into the Native American situation in regard to the 250 tribes you made mention of and the distinct differences you alluded to between the tribes. Just from that meager understanding I cannot see the need for a generic term at this time for the convenience of the dominant society when the tribes themselves do not even want this.

Lyons: We occasionally travel around the country to visit our brothers and awaken this very thing among them. We know their names, we speak their name. That has been our approach. We are not looking for a name that is going to include everyone. In the existence of our people we respected one another regardless. We could always sit in council. We did not want to change a man's way. We wanted to hear what he had to say and what it was his people were thinking and what they were doing.

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Counseling Committee Recommendations

PREFACE

American society can no longer afford to ignore or alienate its many minorities. The system in which we are living has historically attempted to develop a "gray" society. The educational system is the vehicle which has transmitted the myth of the melting pot.

No longer should the educational system seek to perpetuate the concept of the homogeneous society. Polarization has caused people to see themselves in terms of separate ethnic entities instead of a conglomerate of cultures, values, and attitudes. This has resulted in pressure within the larger community for changes in education focusing on individual differences, cultural values and attitudes. No longer may any ethnic minority be denied their cultural heritage. The educational system must respond to the needs of the various groups. Token programs to pacify culturally different people will not suffice. The educational response must not be a paternalistic crumb thrown to the "disadvantaged," but a commitment to work with them and understand their needs as different peoples.

Native Americans have been systematically denied their cultural heritage. As the educational system slowly responds to its guilt there has been a growing awareness of the needs of the Native American. Institutions of higher education, on a small scale, are recruiting Native Americans; monies are being made available for their education; courses are being developed; scholars are beginning to write the *real* American history.

However, programs and monies are not sufficient to insure success to the Native American student. Counselors who are sensitive to the needs of Native American people must be available to bridge the gap between the system and the student.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are recommendations which the Committee on Counseling believes important when considering a counseling program for Native Americans.

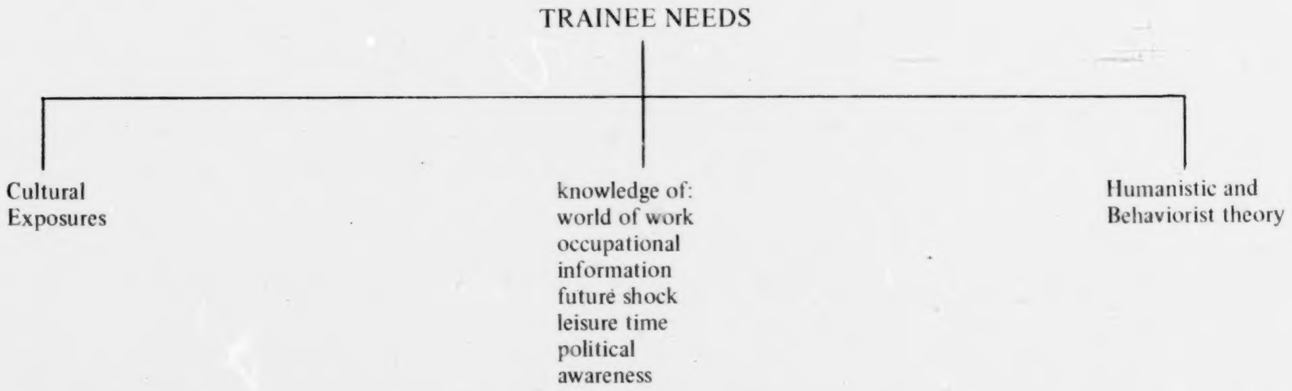
1) Counselor education programs should be specifically designed to train counselors who can work with Native Americans.

The counselor must first be aware of himself, his motives, and his own way of making judgments and decisions. Often standard counselor training approaches are narrow and they neglect cultural differences and the world of work. Changes should be made to expose trainees to the cultural differences and needs of the Native American. The counselor should be able to bridge the gap between the Native American culture and the educational system in which the student must survive. The counselor must be prepared to deal with issues that go beyond the purely intra-personal ones of the individual's understanding of himself and his relation to the world. The counselor must understand the social and political issues that affect the life of the Native American.

Members of the Counseling Committee: Greg Boardman, Ida Headley, Pat Marsh, Dan Sullivan.

COUNSELOR TRAINING MODEL

ingredients in forming "the helping relationship"


TRAINEE NEEDS
Cultural Exposures
knowledge of: world of work occupational information future shock leisure time political awareness
Humanistic and Behaviorist theory

This diagram schematically represents a broad overview of the areas in which counselor training time should be spent. Most counselor training programs are not reacting to the changing world. Often training relies on theory, humanistic and behavioral, which is supposed to provide techniques adequate to counsel the "gray" person. The counselor, however, must relate to a person who has been shaped by a particular life experience. Translating techniques into effective action is only possible when the counselor is knowledgeable of realistic options. Therefore, the counselor must be aware of what is going on within the culture or cultures with which he is working. The counselor must also be aware of other concerns, now overlooked or treated as peripheral, that enter into the decision-making process. These include: the world of work, occupational information, future shock, leisure time, and political awareness. For example, the history of inattention to occupational information is now becoming evident as more and more people are being trained for deadend careers and even college graduates are leaving school ill equipped for the world of work. The counselor must take a more vigorous role within the educational system and, in particular, in bridging the gap between educational institutions and the Native American student. In this regard, the counselor is likely to become "politically involved;" for instance, he will need to become aware of power situations, institutional structures and channels, and community relations. A basic knowledge of how things function is required to be an effective counselor.

2) Counselors and the counseling center should be nonthreatening to the Native American.

Too often counseling centers are located in administration buildings where many students of different backgrounds fear to go. Counselors should strive to know Indian students on an informal basis first so that a trust relationship can be established.

3) The counselor should be personally committed to helping Native Americans.

This means not being restricted to a nine to five office schedule. The counselor should involve himself with programs to develop community awareness of the Native American by using local Native American resource people, state and national Native American spokesmen, films, and arts and crafts demonstrations. Counselors should also be involved in the promotion of Native American awareness through professional organizations such as workshops and conferences.

4) Counselors must be careful not to stereotype Native Americans as "disadvantaged" and relate only to that stereotype.

The counselor must relate to the Native American as an equal, not as an inferior human as the adjective "disadvantaged" implies.

5) Counseling of Native Americans should begin in the Native American community.

The counselor should strive to visit the Indian community to become aware of their problems and needs. He should do this by visiting Native American schools, attending tribal meetings, and talking to tribal elders.

6) Peer counseling should be an integral part of the counseling services offered to Native Americans.

Native Americans who are succeeding in the educational system or who have survived it should be available to help those who are experiencing difficulties. Indian students ought to be exposed to homogeneous and heterogeneous group counseling to facilitate self-understanding and an awareness of other cultures. Counselors, because of their shortage of time and personnel, should rely on techniques such as group counseling, motivation training, behavior modification, and research and development programs at other institutions.

7) Counselors should be especially aware of the financial resources available to Native Americans.

This information should not be limited to students, but should be available to the Indian community at large.

8) Precollege counseling should be an essential ingredient of secondary school guidance programs.

To prepare Native Americans for college life, secondary school counselors should make every effort to free themselves of paperwork in order to be more accessible to the Native American and other students.

9) The counselor should facilitate the efforts of non-Native American and Native American students who would like to become involved in helping the Native American community through out-reach programs, tutoring programs, and recreation programs.

The Counseling Committee met with three Native American students from the Upward Bound program at St. Lawrence University to informally discuss some of their feelings about secondary school counseling. Two of the students will be entering their senior year of high school and one will be a freshman in college. The following is a summary of comments they made concerning counseling in their schools.

1) The high school counselor could be and many times is instrumental in helping Native American students get into college. The students complained, however, that the counselor is not always available when the student needs help.

2) The students believed that it was a disadvantage to come from a small high school where advanced course work is not offered.

3) Native American students are more comfortable entering a college which relatives and friends have previously attended. They also prefer a college near the reservation which enables them to maintain contacts with their homes.

4) The students believed programs like Upward Bound are very helpful in preparing Native Americans for their college experience.

5) Native American students are not pushed into attending college by their parents. Consequently, they do not feel the same pressures as the non-Indian student who is expected to complete college.

6) The students said they would prefer an Indian counselor because he would better understand their problems. However, the most important attribute of a counselor should be an awareness of their needs and a sincere willingness to help regardless of his being Indian or non-Indian.

7) The students said they would like to see the counselor circulate in the Indian community and make visits to the students' homes rather than having all the counseling activities occur within the institution. They believed they would be comfortable having the counselor visit their homes.

DISCUSSION

Steve Adolphus: Your model quickly exposes some important trends. Have you considered how to provide cultural exposure to the counselor who comes out of a different background from his counselees?

Dan Sullivan: Jerry Hill talked about taking the Native Americans who were to enter teacher education at the University of Arizona and placing them with families in small Mexican villages to find out what another culture is like. We have heard from several different speakers that they really did not know they were white or red until they got into another culture. This is the kind of exposure that is necessary. It does not have to be a counselor living on an Indian reservation; it may be something all together different; it could be the inner-city, it could be several different things. We lose so much because the people who train us are all white, their background is all white, and they are all middle-class. Then the counselor imposes those values on everyone who comes into his office because he has only those sets and frames of reference with which to work. I am sure there are many ways that people can be exposed to culture. It is not a class in sociology or anthropology; it has to be a living experience.

Ida Headley: Before someone comes in to counsel, he should be living in that community at least a year or two and really get off this ivory tower. We are in an ivory tower talking about things and really not dealing with them on a day-to-day basis. If you are going to have someone counsel Native Americans, they have got to be in that community, subject to the pressures of that community, in order to understand all the aspects of it.

Robert Wells: Leo, would you react to your experience with group counseling Native American students. Have you done much of that at all? For instance, many Indian students are having similar problems. Have you had much effect working with them as a group when a pattern arises where five or six students are coming up with the same problem?

Dan Sullivan, Ida Headley, Pat Marsh

Delores Norman, Jim Garrett, Jack Waddell

Leo Nolan: I tried that approach but I have seen individual counseling work much more effectively. Individually it is much easier to handle the problem. Some students may all be having a specific problem with academics but maybe one student is culture oriented or another student is from the urban area or one student does not have a mother or father or that kind of thing. So I try to approach the problem trying to see them in those terms. They may all have the same problem, but they have different personalities, different backgrounds; they are individuals even though they are Indians.

Sullivan: Most of the research about group counseling has been done with minority groups. One of our recommendations is that counseling be done with homogeneous and heterogeneous groups. Native Americans should have a homogeneous exchange so they can find out how people from their own tribe, reservation, or whatever it may be, are getting along. But they ought to have the opportunity for heterogeneous meetings so they can find out how other students see them, what kind of perspectives they have, and where they come from. Another important recommendation is the use of peer counselors. The counselor should involve some of the students who are attending the institution at the time. These alumni of the institution, who are also alumni of the reservation, can come back and talk about their failures, their successes, and draw upon their experiences in the system. Using the group as a vehicle is more efficient, more effective, and students will trust one another more than they'll trust the counselor.

Nolan: I do group counseling when it is more informational; for instance, a group of students entering college. If I talked to them individually, I would not be able to draw out their questions. I know the students personally, but if I had dealt with them individually, the problems would not have been generated from within. The session did work on a group basis. But with personal types of problems, if the student wants other students to know about his problem and solution, I think it is his responsibility to tell the other students, not mine. I cannot see using group techniques in those situations.

Minerva White: General information sessions can be done that way. If there is a BIA form, we go over it question by question in a group. But when it comes to filling it out, you have to deal with the individual student. The form asks for the mother's and father's income; maybe his family is on public assistance and he does not want anybody to know this. That is just an example.

Lonnie Morrison: Betty, you were here last year and you were on the counseling committee. You asked the question, "How should the counselor view the Indian student – as a student first, or as an Indian first?" As a result of attending last year's institute, as a result of getting that response, what have you done, how have you solved that particular problem? Why isn't he just an Indian student? I don't see a dichotomy between being an Indian and being a student.

Betty Herrick: From what I have gathered in the two institutes, the Native American very definitely feels that there is and there should be made this distinction. And this is what I will try to do.

Larry Lazore: You are going to encounter what you heard the Upward Bound students say when you interviewed them. They look at the counselor from what they have experienced in high school. We had one of the Salmon River guidance counselors here last summer. He made it very explicit that there is no difference between the Indian student and the non-Indian student in high school. That is the philosophy of the school system that the Indian attends. The Indian students are not going to come to the counselor in college because they have had these bad experiences with counselors. So it puts a burden on the counselor to change this feeling that they have. You are going to have to search the students out. And I don't think there there is any pattern to searching them out. You will find in the majority of schools that the Indian attends that he has been turned-off to counselors in higher education.

Ray Coley: As far as whether the counselor approaches the student as an Indian first or as a student first, I think if you set up a guideline for yourself that you are going to approach this person in this particular way, you have got troubles. Because the most important thing is how a student perceives himself. If you approach him the wrong way, you will lose him.

Sullivan: You have to develop a sensitivity to the individual because usually he will let you know where he is coming from or what he considers himself – if you are awake enough to listen to him.

Arliss Barss: At the Cooperative College Center in Buffalo we do have a corps of counselors. All minorities are represented except Indians in counseling. But the students at first did not use the non-Indian counselor. They know that I am not qualified as a counselor, but they were able to relate to me as an Indian, so they came to me. If there was something that the regular counselor should handle, I would call the counselor to sit in on the counseling. Some students were turned-off immediately; they did not want a non-Indian in the office. They would get up and walk out. There were problems. So it is really a trial and error situation. Just because I am Indian does not mean that I have all the answers. But it is a little edge in some areas. With group counseling, many times students do not like an appointment system. The office must always be open in my case.

Headley: It is my feeling that we are so hung-up on qualifications and credentials that we are losing sight of our purpose. We have so many rubber-stamp counselors. All they can deal with is what they learned in the book and that is it. I would much rather have someone down to earth, grass roots, who is human, than someone who can just spit out what they learned in Counseling 101. A counselor has to be a very unique type of person. I think it takes a certain kind of personality, not X number of degrees, to make a good counselor. I see this in teachers also. If there was some way to screen out [illegible] of prospective teachers and counselors, I would rather [illegible] that than just having people getting masters and doctorates in counseling and calling themselves counselors.

Betsy Auleta: It has been my experience that the students structure the way that they are going to deal with you. If you are not open to that, then nobody is going to come into your office. Most of the good things do not happen in the office anyway. They will come into your office for academic advisement and those things that are the ongoing process, the institutional problems, the easy things that counselors do. But I have had very few students, Native American or otherwise, come into my office for anything personal. That comes out some place else, if it comes out at all.

The whole counselor training program concerns me. If someone spends a year working on a degree in counseling, they are going to come out with a bunch of techniques; if you come out of a teaching course, you come out with a bunch of teaching techniques. If you put a year of your time into that, I would say most people tend to want to follow those patterns even though the techniques say you have got to work from your own experience with the particular individual you are counseling.

The worst thing about counseling programs is that they tell the counselor he has a degree in objectivity. Any counselor who pretends that he is open minded is just lying to the student right from the beginning. The first thing you have to do when a student presents you with a problem is to say, "OK, here are my values. I have to be honest about them, they are there. I have not been able to get rid of them. Maybe because of my values you and I are not the best two to work together on your problem."

Lazore: A good lead-in for a counselor working with Native Americans is the area of financial aids. If you can establish that you will assume the burden of any financial crisis that the Indian might come up against, if a counselor can be knowledgeable and have a real understanding of the Indian student's finances, if he can see that the institution meets its obligations to the student, then the student knows that you are really working for him. That is the Indian student's big hang-up today – the financial crisis. And once that is gone, and he knows that you are the guy to go to, that will lead you into other things. The student may say, "Academically, maybe I can go talk to him because he knows the whole action." But if you make a commitment to take care that he is going to get his check next week, you had better have that check. Do not make a commitment unless you can follow through with it.

Barss: The counselor should know the avenues within the institutional structure to get that financial aid through, because it has been my observation and experience that the financial aids office does not know all about financial aid for Indians. Many students on campus are not getting all that they should be getting. If the counselor could have that information, could even have the application, and could ask the student if he had applied to these, is he qualified for this, has he filled out the application, then the counselor could take him to the financial aid department and have him processed. And that would build rapport between the financial aids and counseling offices.

Adolphus: We have talked about individual commitment. That is something that someone had better qualify and mull over in his mind, whether he be a teacher, counselor, or financial aids officer. If we are going to talk about managing the entire ball of wax, what about a snowballing effect? What about the individual who has realized a certain amount of success? If he continues with this kind of approach, he may find himself dealing with a dozen or three dozen Native Americans, and that is something that you had better take into consideration. He does not have the time.

Headley: At what point does a student become politicized and aware of what is happening? At what point does he start picking up his own ball? Larry was saying that for me to get an "in" with a Native American student I have to do his financial things and his political thing for him.

M. White: Not for everyone, and only in the beginning for those who need the help.

Wells: To alleviate this problem at St. Lawrence, beginning in the summer I had the students meet with me and each director of the functional areas. They saw me relating to these people. They saw that I trusted these people. The students began to see a relationship of us working as a team, and they were not afraid of working with the other directors anymore. They can go in just as candidly to our director of financial aids because they know that he has my confidence and that I would back them up. If you try to put it on one man, you will kill him. He just cannot do that kind of job, especially if he has a functional job to do in addition to counseling or financial aid. The student really needs to see that there is a commitment on the part of the institution, and that somebody can pull the strings if, in fact, he runs into a problem.

Lazore: It can snowball just as was mentioned. The Indian student needs to be shown that if he goes to an office and gets the run-around, that there is a place he can go, a person who can tell the people in that office to get off their cans. Even if it is just a matter of picking up the phone and saying, "Hey! What's the problem on this student's finances?"

Lyman Pierce: What Larry is saying is that there has got to be a friend in the institution. We relate on a friendship basis. When you relate that way, the Indian students will come to you more and more and rely on you more and more. Also, understanding the culture is crucial.

I would like to see in your recommendations some kind of action in terms of the guidance counselors that are presently in our secondary systems. Not only that they become more fully aware of the local community's needs, but that liaison be developed between higher education and the schools that have a high enrollment of Indian students.

Native American Clearinghouse Planned

Many alternative opportunities in education are now being made available to Native Americans. For Native Americans and educational institutions to make intelligent decisions about the most advantageous way of using these new opportunities, both must be fully and accurately informed. Inadequate access to information remains, however, a critical problem for the Native American in pursuit of educational offerings.

The desperate need for a central information base has been recognized for many years by those working in Indian education. Generally, the needed functions have been defined as the collation and dissemination of information over a broad range of the educational spectrum including, but not limited to, public and private two-year and four-year higher education, vocational education, continuing and adult education, elementary and secondary education, Native American personnel and placement in education, financial aid, curriculum development, and educational projects, studies, and decisions in law. Such a data base would ease the task of Native Americans in college placement, facilitate institutional student, personnel, and information searches, and supply the proponents of change with the necessary tools to effect a coordinated and well informed attack upon the problems that repress the Native American.

Native American Education Association

At the suggestion of Mr. Stuart Tonemah, Director of Native American programs at Dartmouth College, members of the 1972 Institute formed an association in an initial attempt to meet these needs. In several subsequent organizational meetings held during the fall of 1972, the structure of the Native American Education Association/Northeast Region (NAEA/NE) was established. Leo Nolan (S.U.C. at Oswego), Vice Chairman for Public Institutions, and Lincoln White (St. Lawrence), Vice Chairman for Private Institutions, were named to help guide the Association under the Chairmanship of Mr. Tonemah.

The specific purposes of the NAEA/NE were enumerated as follows:

1. To establish communications between the Native Americans in colleges and universities in the Northeast United States.
2. To establish a working relationship between Native American communities, be they urban, reservation, or rural, with the institutions represented in this organization.
3. To make state, private, and federal agencies and foundations aware of the activities and purposes of this organization.
4. To promote educational awareness in private and public school educators as to the opportunities available for Native Americans in higher education.
5. To provide an opportunity for the Native American college student to share ideas, activities, experiences, and support with their peers in other colleges and universities.
6. To disseminate information to the general public concerning this Native American organization via the news media.
7. To work closely with the tribal councils, tribal education officers, federal education officers, state education officers, and those people who are involved in Native American education.
8. To establish a liaison between other national organizations (National Indian Education Association, National Education Association, state associations, etc.) concerned with Native American education and become active participants in these organizations.
9. To provide an information service for all Native American students attending colleges and universities in the Northeast, i.e., information on speakers, resource people available, college curriculum, financial aid, etc.

Membership is open to all higher education institutions which are currently or potentially developing Native American programs and to individuals, including students, faculty, staff, or other interested persons. The charter members believe the organizational objectives to be ambitious and are hopeful that they can garner further support and a broader information base which will enable them to take practical steps toward those ends.

Clearinghouse Objectives

During the Institute, a Committee on Clearinghouses was formed to investigate and propose a general model which might be implemented by the participants. Their findings indicated that without full-time personnel available to operate the clearinghouse, the part-time efforts of the participants would be inadequate to achieve its purpose. The Committee was able, however, to define some of the functions such an enterprise might accomplish. Special attention was devoted to four specific areas including identification of:

1) Institutions which have an earnest commitment to the Native American;

2) Institutions which have Native American studies courses and/or programs;

3) Agencies which have funds available for Native American students;

4) Students, urban, reservation and rural, with specific aptitudes, interests and needs.

Identification of institutions with an earnest commitment to Native Americans was the most thoroughly debated point. The discussion revealed the necessity for a broad based and continuing evaluation of each institution. Of course, criteria and methodology were discussed at length. It was suggested that it might be best to have Native Americans, possibly professional educators, do the evaluation.

The need to conduct a talent search by seeking out and identifying Native Americans and their aptitudes, interests, and needs was stressed by the Clearinghouse Committee. Matching students with a choice of colleges best suited to them was considered a valuable way of charting a course for those who are unfamiliar with higher education.

Admissions and Financial Aids Committee Recommendations

Preface

The Committee on Admissions and Financial Aids believes that understanding the factors which lead to success in higher education for ethnic minority groups, and sensitivity toward the Native American specifically, are most important. They should be prerequisites for college personnel concerned with admitting Indian students.

The Committee is uncertain as to the overall effectiveness of the reports of last year's committees printed in *Educating the Educators*. We would like the Institute to evaluate this year's report and initiate *action* wherever possible. Many of the recommendations from last year are excellent and significant. Our task, as we see it, is not necessarily to come up with new ideas because they are new, but rather to develop ways of implementing ideas so that they become a reality.

The Committee critiqued last year's report on admissions and financial aids and, for the most part, agreed with their recommendations. Regarding admissions, we believe that a greater emphasis is needed on 1) sensitization of the *total* university to the American Indian and 2) the recruitment of the urban Indian. In addition, mention should be made of the importance of Native American involvement in the development of plans for coordinated supportive services and the importance of substituting admissions criteria appropriate to the Native American in place of middle-class white standards.

We believe that it is in the area of financial aids that a significant stride can be made if the Native American community feels that the Committee's suggestions are of value. We once again feel that a catalytic effort by the institute's personnel in realizing the Committee's efforts is of the utmost importance. The Committee proposes two major efforts: 1) A Talent Search program established on a regional basis. The Talent Search program should help solve the majority of the problems that the 1971 Financial Aids Committee considered most important; 2) A printing of a composite of all financial aid available to the Native American. The printing should be on two levels – one for the financial aids and counseling personnel in secondary and higher education and a more simplified form for the prospective student.

Rationale

Many educational institutions are now doing their Indian "thing." However, they are attempting to recruit Native Americans without taking a realistic look at their individual campuses and ascertaining the feasibility of success for Native American students. It would seem that our educational institutions would have learned that there is a basic need to recognize fundamental problems peculiar to minority groups before the institutions can hope to provide a relevant learning experience for many minority.

L. Richard Meeth, in his article, "How Colleges Can Get Ready to Teach the Culturally Different Student," very clearly indicates that without adequate planning and preparation, special programs will be fraught with disaster and despair. He also provided seventeen areas that colleges should address themselves to if they are going to teach the culturally different student. These seventeen points are appropriate to the Native American and his educational, social, and cultural needs.

> What program or programs are developed is far less significant than the recognition of the basic problems that underlie subcultural interchange in an education setting and the consequent careful planning and commitment by all members of the academic community. This commitment can never be realized unless the majority from the outset is willing to compromise and to yield some of its freedom, its cultural pride, and its power. Only when the culturally different feel that they are genuinely partners will assimilation occur.

We strongly concur with Mr. Meeth, with the exception that assimilation is not the main goal of the Native American (nor of any other ethnic group) and educational institutions should not attempt to provide a program whose basic objective is assimilation.

Any institution of higher learning that seeks or is encouraged to seek inclusion of greater numbers of Native American students must precede the decision to do so with an introspective analysis of whether it is a realistic endeavor

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Members of the Admissions and Financial Aids Committee: Stan Cohen, Jim Garrett, George Montroy, Lonnie Morrison, and Jim Scannell.

logistically and whether the commitment to do so will be reinforced by an adequate supportive service element which is properly funded and knowledgeably directed. The decision should not be finalized without ongoing discussions with Native Americans.

Only when educational institutions realize the desire of the Native American to achieve self-identity, self-awareness, and self-determination and structure programs accordingly, can they hope to educate the Native American students effectively.

The Committee decided to preface its recommendations with the condition that the institute begin a more involved follow-through effort after the summer institute session terminates. This would include ascertaining the post-institute implementation efforts of participants, catalytic efforts by institute personnel in realizing the recommendations of all workshop papers, and stimulation of the communities to pursue the realization of those recommendations that hinge on their initial efforts. It was the consensus of the Committee that anything less would result in continued compilations of recommendatory literature which would be of little use to anyone except librarians and researchers.

ADMISSIONS RECOMMENDATIONS

The following revised recommendations are based on those of the 1971 Recruitment and Admissions Committee. Revisions made by the 1972 Admissions Committee are indicated by this typeface.

1. Prior to the origination of a recruitment program for Native American students, key individuals in the admissions process should be trained and given a sensitivity for interacting with Native Americans. Preferably, the employment of an Indian staff member is recommended.

This training should include general orientation to Native American history and culture and an in-depth study of the values, lifestyles, and manners of specific tribes with which these personnel would be in contact.

The Committee is concerned with the sensitization of all university personnel and the student body. In light of this, we propose an ongoing orientation not of Native American students to the institution, but of the institution to the Native American student. This orientation might be accomplished through an interdisciplinary approach, administrative and faculty inclusion, and student forums.

2. The recruitment process should be viewed as rendering a service to the Native American community.

The Committee concluded that the establishment of trust and a working rapport is dependent upon a non-competitive approach to Native American students. By not selling a particular program or school but by asking the Indian community what your institution can do for them, your service will be respected. If as a result a student chooses your institution, it will be a credit to your efforts.

3. The admissions officer should approach the Native American community through an appropriate local representative.

Identification of the urban Indian population and its location through a local community organization will facilitate recruitment of the Native American. Community agencies, both public and private, may provide a vehicle for a preliminary investigation of community needs. The recruiter should be sensitive to the effects of urbanization on each student.

Concerning the reservation Indian (and this will vary to some extent on different reservations), the admissions officer should approach prospective students through either the tribal leaders, the education committees, or other manifestations of parental involvement which are now in existence on some reservations. The knowledge, sensitivity, and tact of the admissions officer takes on paramount importance at this point since he must work and develop a rapport not only with diverse tribes, but also with the secondary school personnel.

4. Prior to the origination of a recruitment program for Native American students, the institution should have a well developed plan for the coordination of services including the financial aids office, business office, registrar, housing office, health service, supportive services, and other auxiliary enterprises.

This plan should not emmanate solely from the institution but should be the product of a marriage of community and college. As most institutions presently have neither Native American students nor administrators, the plan must have flexibility to adapt to enrolled students' needs as the students define them.

5. One member of the admissions staff (ombudsman) should be delegated sole responsibility in Native American admissions. The actual admissions decision should be vested in a review committee including the ombudsman. As ombudsman, this individual should be responsible for the coordination of services for the Indian student.

The Committee made this comprehensive recommendation because it is vitally necessary in developing a relation of trust between the institution and the Native American community to have an individual who the Indian community can view with confidence. Therefore, the institution's representative should be knowledgeable, sensitive, and *accountable*.

This is particularly important in respect to financial aid. The admissions officer should be conversant with the various aid programs for which the Indian student is eligible. An admissions officer should never promise any aid unless he knows it to be definitely available. This officer should not just admit the Indian student and then pass his name on to the financial aids office. The admissions officer should supervise the "white tape" that can discourage an Indian student from attending college.

The various offices responsible in areas of student affairs should be notified of special arrangements for Indian students. Financial Aids and Business Offices: should develop deferred payment plans and temporary waivers of fees and deposits. These fees are easily collected through automatic deductions when aid funds are processed through the business office. Registrar and advisement: advisors should be given ample notice to prepare for any special difficulties the Indian student might have or any problems that his educational background might present. Advisors should try to counsel the student to take courses which meet his needs. Care must be exercised that they are taking the proper courses and are not just following all the other students. Guidance in a first year schedule of courses that would fulfill any degree requirement is recommended.

In relation to junior and community colleges where the student is not at liberty to "window shop" before deciding on a field of concentration, pre-admission counseling and career counseling become even more crucial. Where it is possible, however, a two year school should offer flexibility during the first year.

Personnel in the supportive services – tutoring, remedial work, counseling – and the Indian student should be introduced to facilitate their interaction. Most importantly, the procedures and functions of these various services should be fully explained to the Indian student. He should feel free to contact the service personnel or the ombudsman admissions officer.

6. An institution working with polycultural, racial, ethnic, and religious communities must develop its own criteria *in substitution* for traditional middle-class standards.

The Committee recognizes that it is addressing a broad spectrum of institutions of higher education. Their standards, expectations, and requirements may vary significantly. The Committee believes that flexibility in meeting the needs of the individual applicant will give the best results in attaining successful matriculation. Admissions criteria can only be flexible proportionately to the extent of supportive services. If concern for admissions flexibility or supportive services is lacking, the prospective student is being done a disservice.

FINANCIAL AIDS RECOMMENDATIONS

The first recommendation of last year's Financial Aids Committee called for a national clearinghouse for financial aid information. It is the opinion of this Committee that given the historical and cultural development of Native American communities as well as federal, state, and local legislation, a regional approach will be more manageable and productive.

To establish such an operation we propose the following: Educational Talent Search, one of the triplet agencies of the Division of Student Assistance, Bureau of Higher Education, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, functions as a community based project geared at bridging the gap between student and institution. As today's Native American students are the first generation of Indian people with a broad opportunity for a college education, as their access to educational information is poor, and as institutions of higher education in general know very little about the Native American student, we propose that both Federal Region I and Region II be allocated funds to establish centrally located Educational Talent Search Programs.

If successful, the programs established in Regions I and II might be copied in all Regions. Regions I and II will make good initial tests for this proposal, however, as the Northeastern Indians pose the biggest challenge in terms of identification because of a previous lack of attention, urbanization, dispersal over wide areas, and a comparatively small reservation population.

Eight of the fifteen recommendations made at last year's institute by the Financial Aids Committee would be addressed (at least in their initial stages) by a well organized Educational Talent Search Program. In that we represent institutions of higher education, we fully support the Native American community's efforts to obtain this necessary service. We only endorse the funding of an agency which has the support of the Native American community.

As an integral part of financial aid implementation for Native American students planning to enter higher education, we strongly recommend that two types of financial aid booklets – one for counselors (high school and college), admissions personnel, and financial aid officers; and a second simplified version especially for high school students and their parents – be developed as soon as possible. (The booklet might be published on a regional basis, for instance, in conjunction with the Educational Talent Search Program.) These booklets should contain all the various sources of financial aid information that is available to the Native American student. They should list the types of programs, how much money is made available under each program, where to write or who to see about applying for these monies, and the limitations on each program.

These booklets should be distributed upon publication to all institutions of higher learning, high schools, reservations, and urban Indian centers. They should also be available to interested parties on demand.

Programs that should be included in these booklets include:

A. Federal
   1. Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant (EOG)*
   2. College Work-Study Program (CWSP)
   3. National Direct Student Loan (NDSL)*
   4. Guaranteed Loan Program (GLP)
   5. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)
   6. Social Security Benefits
   7. Veterans' Benefits

B. State (New York State is used as an example.)
   1. Regents Scholarship
   2. Scholar Incentive
   3. Higher Education Assistance Corporation
   4. Educational Opportunity Program (EOP; for public schools)
   5. Higher Education Opportunity Program (HEOP; for private schools)
   6. Student Aid to Indian Youth

Other sources of financial aid which should be examined are institutional funds such as scholarships, loans and employment; local scholarships made by clubs and organizations; foundations; special Indian funds; and tribal scholarships.

For the student's further information, the pamphlets should contain examples of the cost of attendance at several different institutions of higher learning and the possible

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**Please note that these and other federally funded financial aid programs are being revised and consolidated according to new legislation which enacted the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BOG). Your college financial aid officer will have the latest information on these programs.*

Admissions and Financial Aids Committee reporting to the full Institute.

sources of financial aid packaging that could be used to defray the cost of each. Examples of colleges should include representation from two-year and four-year public and private schools. All the examples used should be real and up-to-date. It would also be advantageous to use more than one example for each type of higher education institution. Updating of this material should be an ongoing process.

The Committee's opinion is that these booklets would not only serve to open the eyes of most high school guidance counselors and many college officials, but would prove invaluable to the potential college-bound Native American student whether he is on the reservation or in urban areas.

DISCUSSION

Lonnie Morrison: What we have attempted to do in our particular workshio is to refrain from making extensive recommendations, but to come up with two possible tasks that this institute can direct itself to and possibly accomplish before the next institute. We would hope some kind of groundwork could be begun, if not from this institute, from the Indian community, so a Talent Search Program might be developed, if this is what they want. The financial aids booklet is also important. These are two specific tasks that we are putting to the institute. We do not want to get into making recommendations again, we would like to see implementation, some tangible results of our efforts.

Lyman Pierce: When you say "institute," do you mean the participants?

Stan Cohen: If the Indian community – and you are part of the Indian community – thinks that something like the Talent Search is worthwhile, and if they do not know where to start, they ought to be able to come to the leaders of the institute – like Dr. Wells – and approach the problem of starting such a program in this fashion. Perhaps some political force can be developed by getting several colleges and universities that serve Native American students to write the appropriate government officials in support of funding to implement this program. If the colleges solicit support for something like this by themselves without the backing of Native Americans, then they are just putting themselves out on a limb. It has got to come from the Indian community first, and then the colleges can pick this up, get the support, and ask for funds to implement the program.

Jim Scannell: One thing that we might be able to do, if we are not able as individual representatives of institutions to go back and start programs right away, is to mobilize the institution's political wealth – local, state, and federal – in support of worthwhile projects. If, for instance, Boston College could not begin a program but did believe there was a need for a Talent Search Agency in Region I, if that proves practical and the Indian communities want it, probably Boston College could use its influence to stimulate some action in Washington.

Tony Gullo: I would like to second the committee's idea about the financial packaging operating at two levels, especially the idea of putting this financial package in the hands of the student. You should not wait until a student becomes a senior in high school before you inform him of this financial situation and then hope that he brings it home to his parents. This is something that has to be brought to the attention of the Indian families while the student is relatively young. Many times the student has dropped out of high school before he gets to his senior year, and many times the reason is because he does not know about financial packaging. He knows the financial situation of his family and he believes he cannot go on in higher education because it is going to put a strain on his family's budget. If we do come up with these financial packages, they should be given to the younger students to take home to their families so the families can become acquainted with the kind of financial help that is available to their sons and daughters.

Scannell: One of our primary concerns was that information such as the booklet, *Scholarships for American Indians*, published by the BIA, was not distributed unless someone asked for it; someone had to solicit the BIA for this information. When working with an uninformed population (which is what we are presuming and which is what most of us were before we came here) that does not know how to find the BIA, that does not know that they publish such a booklet, the chances of students, parents, high school guidance counselors, financial aid officers, or admissions counselors writing for one of these are slim. Secondly, this kind of information in a booklet in this form (again, given the public we are dealing with and which most of us represent) might not ever get read. A booklet like *Scholarships* would take care of the particulars and specific information necessary for the financial aids officers and other professionals. But we are interested in educating a larger audience with the basic, general information that we feel most people are not aware of. So we are interested in a publication, possibly just a brochure or a pamphlet, that a guidance counselor, a financial aids officer, or students could refer to very quickly and easily. Possibly a separate students' book could be written geared specifically to students. This publication could be sent to high schools and to all financial aids officers not upon request, but upon publication.

Arliss Barss: It is really difficult to handle. If students do not have someone who is going to assist them with this, they will be lost. They just do not know how to fill out the complicated applications of this sort. So counselors have to become well acquainted with the application and with the different types of programs that your schools offer.

Steve Adolphus: There are three additional sources in New York State which should be added to your list of money sources that a student might tap. 1) The program in many state educational institutions called the "Neediest Student" or "Most Needy Student Program" where all expenses are picked up for those students who are at the very bottom of the class in economic terms. 2) The SEEK program in New York City which is totally free and, in addition, provides stipends based on economic and educational need. 3) Shortly before this institute convened, a landmark decision was rendered by the state court against the New York State Department of Social Services in which the right of people receiving social service benefits to continue in college and have their expenses paid was for the first time affirmed.

Robert Wells: An important point is that there are only two states in the whole country that offer the Indian comprehensive financial and service support: New York and Minnesota. And they do it for a very limited audience, the "reservation Indian." And we have got to educate the state officials that the Indian is moving into the city. Almost half of the Indians in New York State live in the city. I think it is an important point because it calls to the attention of those states which do not offer any aid – and remember, the BIA only has responsibility in 24 or 25 states now; therefore, there are many states in higher education which provide nothing – the fact that New York is at least doing this, even though New York is doing it in a limited way (only one out of every two Indian students is eligible for aid because he is either not on the rolls, not on the reservation, or he comes from outside the state). It may be a small point, but it is the difference in New York State between an Indian student going or not going to college. That $1100 will get him into the public school, and with the tuition remission and other fees that are waived, he is insured of going to a public two or four year school. If he does not have that, he may never attend a four year school.

Larry Lazore: As a result of this report each institution should learn the importance of coordinating information and finding out what ability each state has to give Indian aid. The educational institutions should have some way to receive a good, clear definition from the state concerning what funds and other financial aids are available or are earmarked for Indians of that state. We zero in on New York State here. But I am sure that there are many institutions throughout the country that have Indian students, and maybe the institutions themselves are not knowledgeable of existing state programs which provide assistance for Indian students.

Barss: Even in New York, if the student qualifies under the criteria, he can only get funding if he attends school in New York State.

In the financial aid criteria for the New York State Indian student, if you go exactly by the eligibility requirements that are stated, there will be some Indian students who are eligible but are not covered by the guidelines which are distributed. It does not state the exceptions to the rules. For example, if an Indian student was forceably removed from the reservation because of schooling, problems in the home, etc., and the state placed the student in a foster home or put them in a boarding school, that student is eligible to receive this aid. I think the Bureau of Elementary School Supervision in Albany should include the exceptions.

I have a question I would like to present to Mr. Daly. Last year, following the institute, a study concerning New York State Indian Education Law was given to me. It says that according to Chapter 71 of the Law of 1856, the superintendent of public instruction was "charged with providing the means of education for all the Indian children in the state." Then, the current applicable law, SS4118, specifically states that student aid for Indians of the state is restricted to residents of the reservation. According to this document, an examination of the law itself demonstrates that this restriction does not in fact appear in SS4118. Do you know when the law was changed? Do you know how the law was changed? Was it an administrative decision?

Ronald Daly: That I cannot tell you. But I do know that within the State Education Department, legal residency on the reservation has been enforced for a great many years.

Wells: But is the State Education Department aware that financial aid is a particularly acute problem insofar as many of the people have left the reserve and live in cities like Syracuse and Rochester?

Daly: As a result of the Cortland meeting last October, the education department is really aware of the problem. Prior to that, the department, as a whole, was not aware of it. Perhaps the first time the Board of Regents became aware of it was at the October meeting held in Albany. That week was dedicated to minority group work, and there was an excellent presentation made by John Cook from St. Regis and others.

Barss: I would like to suggest a recommendation to this committee and to the institute that one of the things that would be beneficial to Indians in New York State, and I am not limiting that to reservation residents or excluding the urban Indian, would be to find out exactly where the law was changed and which administrator or administration changed it, because it is obvious that it was changed. Because if it was changed through administrative procedures, then they are going contrary to a law enacted by the State Legislature. Through such an investigation, we will discover the philosophy of the state of New York towards Indians in general – which, I am afraid, is the complete assimilation of them.

Integrity Before Education

In a critical study, the author challenges motivational programs and asks if the Indian really should enter into an educational system and a society which, he claims, desperately lack integrity

by Vine Deloria

It is difficult for me to talk specifically on Indian education since I have been primarily involved in the protection and expansion of Indian treaty rights for the last several years. There are characteristic societal attitudes which you should be aware of and which have been clearly exposed in the legal rights field.

The white society has an underlying belief that there is some way to motivate people who are culturally different to become like whites. One can see this in almost every phase of federal policy. Senators, congressmen, and governors, particularly in the western states, are not looking at Indian treaty rights as legal rights, they are looking at them as propositions that they can use to force Indian tribes in their states to become more like the white citizens. Consequently, this undermines the whole concept of what legal rights are. If Indian legal rights are protected only to the extent that the Indians conform to what someone else wants them to do, then one is not talking about legal rights at all, one is talking about a facade of legal rights that can be manipulated against Indians.

An Appalling Lack of Integrity

Legal rights, if you take the subject seriously, concern many other fields not usually related to the practice of law. In attempting to discover what Indian treaties really are, I have been forced to go back into the field of religion and attempt to find out what religions give to people that lends them a sense of stability or integrity. By tracing the decisions regarding Indian rights in the federal and state courts of the United States, an appalling lack of integrity on the behalf of the various courts and judges becomes apparent. In many instances where the treaty rights are very clear as to what they say and what rights they give the Indians, the judge, in his decision, says that even though these tribes have a particular right, still it is our duty as a Christian and civilized people to do such and such. The result of the decision is to deprive that tribe of its treaty rights, its land, its water, or to force them into a new and more difficult relationship with either the federal or state government.

If you have a society that is set up according to a rule of law, the people are pledged to uphold that law. What motivates them at a certain point to change the rules of the game? How, after two hundred years, can a government

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Mr. Vine Deloria, jr., *a Standing Rock Sioux, is a widely acclaimed spokesman for Indian legal rights. He is author of* Custer Died for Your Sins *(1969),* We Talk, You Listen [illegible]70), *and* Of Utmost Good Faith *(1971). Mr. Deloria, a former Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, has been involved with many Indian stu[illegible] programs at colleges and universities throughout the western United States.*

suddenly decide that these rights belong to them in derogation of all previously existing treaty law and justify it with any consistency? They say that they are not going to play it this way anymore because they have these pressing needs and it is no longer convenient. What is it in their inept society that allows the whites to give up the integrity of their own laws and switch them around constantly for their own benefit? It is because there is no sense of religious consistency, nor any conception of what a society is, or what its relation to Creation is.

All of this bears a connection with the political and educational problems of Indians in the United States. As you begin to translate these attitudes and techniques into educational fields, one is horrified to realize the educational system is built on the same principles. Until you eradicate the type of thinking that dominates almost all areas where Indian tribes come in contact with white society or the federal government, you really cannot do anything in any of these fields.

The Hidden Motivational Key

If you examine the poverty programs that exist in the United States, they are not built around an economic conception of a community at all. They are almost all, in one way or another, an educational program that is trying to motivate Indians to do better. Education is not the problem. The problem in Arizona, for example, is whites are stealing Indian water and sending it down to Tucson to be used in suburban swimming pools. All the motivation in the world is not going to give Indian people water to farm, or to water their livestock, or to develop anything on their reservation. And yet, in almost every federal program directed at Indians, there is a continual expectation by bureaucrats and people in executive authority that somehow there is a hidden key to motivate Indians to do what the bureaucrats want. The justification for having bilingual education programs is not that the native language has a validity of its own, but that the native language can be used as a technique of trickery to teach Indian children the English language faster and to attract them into white society faster.

If the average Indian tribe is left alone and people stop bringing in other values and techniques to motivate them to be something else, you will find that the Indian community has amazing resiliency. The Indian community knows precisely what it wants to do – if, in fact, it feels that it really has to do something. The Indian community has great survival techniques. We have seen Indian tribes that can consume the content of education more rapidly than anyone else in the educational system can. The Lummi tribe in western Washington is a good example.

Self-Motivation of the Lummis

The Lummi had been fishing in the Georgia Strait waters for seven or eight thousand years. When the Bureau of Indian Affairs entered the scene they decreed that the Lummi should become farmers like all good Christian citizens. The reef net fishing industry of the Lummis was destroyed. The BIA allotted individual plots of up to 120 acres on a peninsula six miles west of Bellingham which was heavily forested with Douglas fir. It took the Lummis almost forty years to clear the land so that potatoes could be planted. The removal of the heavy forestation resulted in the creation of a swamp as the water reclaimed the land and made it impossible to farm. In the meantime, the salmon that had run up the river were being destroyed by industries located along its banks. And farmers, in order to fertilize their fields, were harvesting the remaining salmon by the wagon load. The fish run on the Nooksack River was destroyed.

In a period of somewhat less than half a century the whites of Whatcom County not only virtually decimated the Lummi tribe, they almost ruined Whatcom County – all under the guise of helping the Indians to assimilate into white society and become good Christian citizens.

In the last ten years the Lummi were totally forgotten by everyone. Any government agency that tried to help them was firmly told that the Lummis had no motivation – no one could even get them to be farmers. So everyone left them alone. Independently the Lummis developed the idea of an aquaculture. The Lummis closed off the 750 acre pond on Lummi Bay, and today they are in such a position that in five years they will control the oyster seed production in the Pacific basin.

My point in raising the Lummi situation is that until these people were left alone to do what their community wanted to do, there was nothing but degradation and destruction for that community. The only relationship outside people had with the Lummi community was to try to motivate them to do something that they did not want to do. The idea that a tribe of Indians, mostly dropouts, could manage marine biology and become experts in the various kinds of sealife was so totally foreign to the people of Western Washington State College that they laughed and ridiculed the Indian people and tried to stop a grant to the tribe to teach older tribal members the biology of the fish and seafood that lived in that part of the country.

This development resulted because the Lummis were

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regarded as degenerate and unable to have anything to do with the American educational system. That system left them alone for at least ten years while they went out and did their own thing – something *they* wanted to do. The more people that find out about the Lummis, the more educators and anthropologists want to come out and study them to see how they did it.

What is the secret and mysterious Indian thing that enabled these Lummis to do this? They simply did what they wanted to do; they were not artificially motivated to do what someone else wanted done. Until you eliminate the concept of motivation in American politics, economics, education, and religion, you are never going to have any success in these fields. What you are going to do is continue to destroy lives and communities. The minute there can be an acceptance of what is without the missionary urge to go out and change it, at that point we can start defining some of society's problems and resolving some of the conflicts.

A Fundamental Religious Problem

One cannot approach any of the problems of either white society or the various Indian tribes without looking at it as a fundamental religious problem. With that orientation much of what have been considered problems of Indian education, economic development, or community self-government begin to vanish. The Lummis were able to develop their aquaculture because they related to a particular area of land and did the most rational thing (with the minimum amount of change) that could be accomplished in terms of respecting the land's integrity to life. The BIA, of course, wanted to put an aluminum production plant on the fresh water bay which would not only have destroyed the fresh water bay, but probably would have destroyed everything in Puget Sound by the time they were finished. The Lummis developed their aquaculture because they knew it would not hurt the water or the existing fish life. "All we are going to do," said the Lummis, "is map out our pond and try this. If it fails, we can still use the bay for something else. But we cannot use this land for anything that would create an irreversible process or destroy it. We have already seen them do that with the timber industry. Our job is to reclaim the land because this is the land where we have always been."

So I am very much down on education, institutions – all of the things that you people have come here for three weeks to study – until the significant issues in the white society are confronted. The inconsistencies such as the President of the United States simultaneously opposing abortion because he has a great reverence for human life while bombing grownups and children in Vietnam, and maintaining all along that he is a Quaker and is really seeking peace, must be eliminated. The point is not that Nixon is so bad, but that American society sees no real danger in the fact that such conflicting views can be held by an individual and exercised on society's behalf. I do not see how anyone in any educational institution can begin to talk to members of an Indian tribe about how they should change their way of life to conform to the values or even the content that we have given education today. When the American education system is producing people like Nixon, Mitchell, Rehnquist and even McGovern – if these are examples of the high points of Western civilization – then your only duty in education is to tear that civilization down as fast as you possibly can.

Integrity Before Education

Society must find out what the world really means, what the relationship between people should be, and what our relationship to this Earth should be. There must be constructed a whole new body of knowledge that is not only going to be relevant, but which will speak to the communities that live on this Earth. In Western science there is no connection between science as a body of knowledge and man as a social, communal being. Yet in Indian communities all of this is contained in one central outlook on life. Life possesses an integrity and is not divided into functions.

I cannot understand any of the things that are being done in bilingual education or compensatory education to shove another 1,000 Indians into college or graduate school this year. I cannot see how any of this is going to have any impact in terms of ultimate solutions for either Indian communities or American society as long as there is this terrible lack of integrity in the academic content, in the political operations, and in the religious functions of society in Western civilization.

Who Do We Educate?

If we are going to talk about education, who do we talk about educating? Do we have to pull the white man out of his superstitions? Until these superstitions are wiped away, until the thrust of the educational system is turned away from Indian tribes and directed toward the incredible confusion of the white man, you are simply perpetuating all of those superstitions that the white man brought with him to this continent. The attitude of educational institutions that they somehow have something to give to an Indian tribe has got to be straightened out in the white society.

The fundamental point you have got to consider in terms of education is: "what the hell are we talking about?" If this is approached in terms of motivation and change, education is on the wrong track; all you are doing is changing the carrot at the end of the stick; you are not really changing the fundamental relationships that were misconceived from the start and now have to be conceived in different terms.

DISCUSSION

Percy Whiteduck: If North American Indian Clubs located in different cities were to go to Washington asking for the same treaty rights that reservation Indians enjoy, would the clubs be recognized or would they be dismissed as out of order?

Deloria: One of the big problems in Indian law is that the federal and state courts have the opinion that the older a law gets, the more invalid it is. Consequently, a treaty signed a hundred years ago is not regarded as a pledge by the government to do certain things. It is regarded instead as an artifact of history. To raise the legal point of the treaty you have to put incredible pressure on the court to take its job seriously. Treaty law is being made every day.

We had a hearing about a month ago in Washington on the Medicine Creek Treaty fishing rights and the judge laughed right out loud in the courtroom and said, "You mean to tell me I have to discover what this treaty meant in 1885. I have no idea what this meant." If the judge knew anything about

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Indian law, if he had the integrity to take his job seriously and find out what the legal issues were, if he, himself, went into the law library and looked things up, he would have realized that he was confronted with a unique legal problem in terms of what an Indian treaty is.

Robert Wells: Your point is well taken that Indian communities should define their own objectives and that whites should not impose their values. But we do have a situation where Indian communities come to white communities and send their children to school or are even forced to send them to school in certain instances. What should be the reaction of the larger white community? That is why we are here – not because we want all Indians to come to white schools but, in fact, Indians perceive a need to come to these schools. Corbett Sundown, a Tonawanda Seneca chief, stated at this institute that, "We need education, we need education at your institutions." What are we to say to a white educator who is educating a substantial number of Indian students in the schools? How is he to relate to those students?

Deloria: I have had severe questions about these institutions for a long time. I have noticed a pervading fear in the academic community to ever bring one new thought to fruition. I will be involved this fall in an attempt to force a reexamination of the fact that there probably were expeditions to America before Columbus. Academic people in these fields are absolutely terrified to get up and say that the Phoenicians might have come over here in 300 B.C. My question for institutions, therefore, is not how do you relate to Indian students, but how do you relate to your own subject matter in terms of a pursuit of knowledge? Is there an integrity that will lead *any* student to want to learn about that particular field of knowledge? There are fundamental questions of what teaching is and what knowledge is that the educational institutions have not had the guts or the brains to face.

Educators recognize that people should want to learn. They try and find techniques to motivate them to learn a body of knowledge which really is not a body of knowledge. It is a body of knowledge only because the older people in the academic discipline have the prestige and political power to enforce beliefs about that body of knowledge. I think the job is to turn these universities around to the point that they actually are pursuing and exploring the fields that they claim to be involved with.

I suppose that is not a satisfactory answer. But the idea that we are going to set up a seminar and that some kind of Socratic dialogue is going to emerge because we do not sit at desks but we sit around a table seems to me to be a most childish and naive expectation by the institution. I think institutional change has to be initiated rather than working to adapt the student.

I spent two very unsatisfying years at Western Washington State. We could not really explore what I thought were significant areas where people could discuss the things that they wanted to know about. We were turned down, for example, on a proposal to have a Lummi carver come in and teach woodcarving. We encountered the problem of the carver's not having worked in a museum and not having a masters degree. The point the college administrators were not willing to recognize was that the Ford Foundation was funding all kinds of kooks to come out and watch this man carve. So any masters thesis written on Lummi carving was done by people observing him during the summer and coming back and writing about it. And yet the carver did not have the degree, and therefore he had no alleged command of the discipline. I really have very fundamental disagreements with American education.

With the exception of the program at the University of Idaho, which has a specialized masters degree program, I have yet to see a decent program that is putting out anything in the Indian educational field. All I see around the country are thousands of people gathered to motivate Indians to do things. In the tribal communities there is incredible energy. There is an ability to rise to certain occasions. The problem in education is that outsiders try to motivate the Indian people to do something that they really do not want to do.

In 1964 there was an Episcopalian Convocation near the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. All the Sioux who were Episcopals gather on some reservation every year for a three day celebration. The bishop sent a man out to Crow Creek to tell the Sioux to get ready for the convocation. He wanted them to set up committees to report to him on fund raising and other aspects. The committees were set up, but then no one heard from them again. One of the priests got nervous and he borrowed $1,000 to buy 14 crates of cantalope, 7 big cases of napkins and 14 dozen eggs. All these supplies were unloaded on the reservation. Everything sat out in the sun for three days while the Indian people came every morning in their cars and wagons to deliver the food to feed everyone. My point in mentioning this incident is to expose the expectations of whites that the Indian community is going to do the same things in the same manner that the whites do. The white sees the Indians without a committee, a subcommittee, and a parliamentarian, and he thinks, "Christ, those Indians can't organize." Throughout history, however, there have been some good Indian organizations.

Wells: For example, there has been some recognition that the larger society and the Indian leadership have to come to grips with the problem of health. Let us say that we live in an advanced society that is capable of making it possible to live longer, to live better, and to improve the quality of life. The Indian stands on the bottom rung of society in terms of the quality benefits available to him. How do we make it possible for the Indian to get his share of the rewards of the society and still maintain control over his own destiny? To do this he has to get at least a foothold in the white society to get the benefits available. I am not talking in material terms about the tinsel rewards, but about a better life as the Indian defines a better life.

Deloria: Then you have to build a lot of boats and send everybody back to Europe.

I honestly cannot relate to that because I cannot see the better life. I really cannot. There was a demonstration in Boulder, Colorado two months ago. The police beat the hell out of all the hippies downtown and then started roving the neighborhoods in Boulder. The director of the National Atmospheric Laboratory, a high government official, and his family came out on the lawn to see what all the disorder was. The police went rushing around this fellow's yard and up on his front porch and just creamed the family. They broke five of his ribs, broke his wife's nose, and his son's eye was almost put out. According to the theory I think you are promoting, if you put Indians in this educational system, they get to be head of the National Atmospheric Laboratory and they share in the "benefits" of society. I have real questions about whether anyone should share in that part of it or not. I honestly do not expect this society to last more than ten years.

Elizabeth Duran: What was exceptional or different about the University of Idaho that you singled out their program?

Deloria: In their masters program the tribal representatives are equal in status to the academic people on the review committee for masters candidates in the Indian program. In other words, to get a masters in Indian studies an individual is reviewed by the academic committee and the tribal chairmen (or their representatives) of each tribe in Idaho who sit on the review committee. Anything that the academic people want to require can be vetoed or adapted by the tribes. They are forcing academic people to deal with the real world, which is really a traumatic experience for most of them.

It is a combination of courses, research, and field work. The entire program is geared to meet immediate tribal needs as defined by the tribes. The Indians going through the program are operating from a tribal context, and what they are doing is taking whatever is useful in an academic situation and testing it out in their own tribal situations. There is no body of knowledge that they are responsible for to get a degree. They get the degree when the tribal council feels that their skills are upgraded enough to be of help. There are only seven people in the program at the present time. They are keeping the program small because, in the first place, the tribes do not have much travel money to attend meetings all the time and, in the second place, tribes have identified special, particular needs that they are tailoring the program to meet.

Most Indian studies are irrelevant to anybody. The University of Idaho has taken the other track and they have worked with the tribal councils and offered the program the councils want. There are many similar quasi-programs. Educators search for the people in the tribe who will say what the educators want. The educators gather all those people together and then they tell them what they want. Then the educators claim that they have got Indian involvement in their program.

Jim Scannell: Do you have any positive ideas as to how the white man who wants to work with white institutions might go about doing it?

Deloria: I had hoped at one time in the longhair revolution that all the old ducks would be challenged right where they lived. I cannot name a field with which I am familiar where there is not a great deal of superstition put out as if it were factual. Challenging the content of these alleged academic disciplines would really force people in white society to awake and analyze what they are really talking about. That is the role of education: to challenge all the sacred cows. I cannot think of any field that does not need challenging right at the roots, to jerk them out and say, "Now, what are we really talking about?" My complaint with education is that I cannot see that happening. At least it is not happening to the degree I want it. Instead, educators are saying, "We have got to find a more attractive way for these students to consume this body of knowledge faster and with better retention. Then they will be more acceptable to us and we will be able to get them a job."

Scannell: What you are saying is a very individual type of thing – a person has to do it himself. I do not think you can expect an institution to react to that. How do you generate the energy among individuals to make them reexamine themselves and their values?

Deloria: That is why I do not think the country is going to last another ten years, because I do not find that kind of individualism in the Indian tribal setting. But the tribal societies give you a basic denominator so that a lot of these problems do not arise. Individualism in the Indian context is entirely different from individualism in the white context. A white has to find some place to exist. The Indian operates from that point of existence to begin with. You are an Indian for better or for worse, and that question is not raised. In white society you are an individual who has to make it in some sense or the society is going to throw you out. There is a very fundamental, radical cleavage between the Indian conception of things and the non-Indian conception of things.

There is a point in *Little Big Man* where Chief Dan George is explaining to Dustin Hoffman the difference between the two groups. He says, "For the Indian everything is alive and for the white man everything is dead." I think that is a fundamental distinction. The distinctions between physics and biology now are merely a matter of definition. There is an increasing acceptance of the universe as a living thing. And yet, social science regards anybody that they can come out and visit not as people or living beings at all, but as phenomena.

Duran: If a newsman was looking for a lead, no doubt the most startling statement he could find in your presentation would be that "the country is not going to last for another ten years." Would you explain what you are saying there?

Deloria: Things are too complex, people are too ignorant to know how they got in the situation they are in, and the political system is certainly not making any effort to alleviate conditions. We are going to see increasingly frequent blowups, not of the old kind where blacks went out and burned ghettos and raised hell, but of middle-class whites losing their minds and really initiating disturbances. There were no minority groups involved in that Boulder incident. These were middle-class white kids and very affluent whites in that suburb. I really expect a series of explosive things to happen. Nobody seems willing to really look at America the way it is. Two years ago, in the middle of the unemployment in Seattle, they had things so fouled up that they could not deliver food that was sitting in a warehouse to the people in Seattle who were starving. The people in Kobe, Japan had to send rice over to Seattle by boat to feed those people. There is nothing that has been done to alleviate any of these situations. Things are getting tighter and tighter. I do not stand up here advocating a revolution. On the basis of what I have seen, I cannot conceive, in my own mind, how we can hold it together much longer. Things are just going to blow.

Steve Symansky: There are some Indian students who have the desire to enter educational institutions. How should these institutions involve themselves? Should they turn the students down?

Deloria: I really do not know. I recognize that for the immediate future we have got to deal with the education of the Indian students coming out of high school. They have to do something. Opportunities for educated Indians are increasing all the time so that there is a very great attraction to do things. At the same time, I have seen so many kids destroyed by this system. I am really ambivalent as to what the next step is.

I would prefer at this point that the funding and design of primary and secondary education be placed in the hands of Indian tribes, and that higher education, colleges, and universities, undertake to implement a number of basic structural changes. There should be an effort to combine current educational requirements with well designed programs that tribal elders or councils on the reservation would put together to offer an [illegible] to Indian students at the higher educational level. This should not be initiated without a commitment at the graduate level to a very significant interdisciplinary Indian program.

I am not really familiar with social situations in the East. When I talk in these terms it is more in relation to Pine Ridge and other areas where there are ten or eleven thousand Indians and a small state college several hundred miles away that can adapt its program so that a fairly well educated young Indian can be an associate professor or an adjunct professor and can conduct studies on the reservation with credit.

Symansky: What are your feelings about the demonstration schools? The Navajo Community College, for instance?

Deloria: I know too much about the political background and infighting that went on to get those schools. Bob Roessell, a white man who went to school with John Kennedy, was more influential in setting up the Navajo schools than were the grass roots Navajo. I have talked to a lot of young Navajos who are very dissatisfied with the situation. They said it is not community controlled at all. Navajo are running those boards, but they are from different parts of the reservation; they are not from the local community.

Maybe one fundamental change that could be initiated almost immediately would be to give academic or professional status to traditional or religious leaders. Have them teach what they think should be taught in a tribal context. It is extremely difficult to talk about program adjustment or what any particular university should do. I wanted to concentrate on raising a dissident voice about conceiving education as a motivational process: if we just probe into each individual a little bit more or offer a different gimmick, somehow the Indian student will spring to life.

Art Einhorn: Perhaps you could explain your ideal of American society as tribalized with a group survival process.

Deloria: You have to examine the concept of what it means to be an American citizen. According to the predominant theories in America, you have to close your mind and accept the status quo, and you thereby become a good American. This fits in perfectly with the Christian idea of conversion. Once you have heard that message you shut your mind forever and just follow orders. There is a tension between that tendency or concept and what we are really doing. There is considerable community interaction and community politics. The literature, in many ways, reflects the effort of American society to relate to certain ethnic groups. Political promises are given by candidates to garner ethnic votes. You can trace out in American politics that there is a very keen awareness of ethnic differences.

In the cities you can see the ethnic neighborhoods, and around the country you can see the same. In parts of the West, Wisconsin and North Dakota for example, there are sections that speak almost total German. If you look very carefully at America, you find that there is not American citizenship as such, but a series of ethnic and minority communities that somehow link-up under the Constitution. In many ways the Constitution is interpreted in terms pleasing to them. The American Constitution as interpreted in Texas is really a rehash of the Texas Rangers; it has nothing to do with Thomas Jefferson or anybody else.

In practical terms, what we are dealing with are the efforts of various minority communities to survive in spite of the facade that there is an American citizenship. The problem has been intensified by the social movements of the sixties and what we are doing at the present time. In failing to recognize ethnic differences, and in attempting to treat all communities as if they were alike, we are busting up Skokie, Illinois so that it is not Swedish, but it is not anything anymore. None of the ethnic power movements attempt to preserve that kind of identity. If you take that kind of identity and put the individual with the American ideals and expressions into that, you have a radically different type of society. Notice, you are going to get the acknowledgement that all of the different groups really should have their rights protected because the destruction of one group inevitably leads to the destruction of other groups. The Supreme Court made a very significant decision in a recent Amish case where they allowed the Amish basically to run their own school system.

Eventually there will be a new type of society. We are finding now that these problems really cannot be solved on a national basis. They have to be solved on a local basis, and when you talk about a local basis, you are not talking in general terms of American citizenship, you are talking of peculiarities of different nationalistic backgrounds. If you use these as a means of support instead of destroying the community and creating additional social problems, the cultural basis can be used as a positive beginning from which stability can be built in different areas around the country. This would eventually solve a significant number of social problems. These cultural differencess really have to be recognized and looked at as a positive value.

Duran: Could you indicate negative and positive areas of anthropology? It has reached the point that anthropologists are really downgraded. Could you mention any positive aspects about anthropologists?

Deloria: My main complaint against anthropologists is their attitude towards the communities that they deal with. For instance, I have had a long dispute with a noted anthropologist. I think there is a logic to which every man should be bound. If he alleges certain things, he should be required to stand by them. This scholar has received considerable fame, prestige and power by being known as an expert on the Iroquois. He constantly refers to his ability to live and work with the Senecas and others and be accepted by the people. In other words, a major part of a man's life is owed to his ability to go to Indian communities as a representative of white society and be accepted by those communities. He identifies those communities as real Indian communities. A couple of years back I went with the Onondagas to Albany, and we talked about the return of the wampum belts. In the office of one of Rockefeller's assistants this scholar told me the Iroquois are no more. He said that everybody knows the League was disbanded after the American Revolution and that they moved to Canada. Therefore, these people are not Iroquois. I said, "How come they are Iroquois every time you want to write a book or paper or your renewal comes up at the museum, and yet the one time they want to do something contrary to your wishes, all of a sudden they are not Iroquois?" This debate continued for several years, and people from the museum said that the wampum belts should not be returned to the "acculturated descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants." I presume they meant the Iroquois. This is the highest breach of integrity that any group can perpetrate. How can they be Iroquois for the purposes of studying them, publishing on them, and earning a living as an expert on them, and then suddenly they are not Iroquois at all? They become acculturated descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants and have nothing whatsoever to do with the traditional Iroquois culture. And why is that? Because the people want the wampum belts back for their religious ceremonies. The wampum belts, by definition, are anthropological artifacts. If one really finds that no Iroquois exist, of course one does not have to give them back. There is no question there. If the anthropologist is going to study Indian things, then they should be bound by the definitions; they should be bound by the things they accept. If someone studies the Sioux and says, "I am an expert on the Sioux," then we should not be able to lead an expedition to get the sacred pipe under the guise that there are no more Sioux Indians. All I ask for is an integrity of definition: if they are Iroquois for one purpose, that they be Iroquois for all purposes.

This is a good way to summarize what I have said here. Why is assassination assassination in one context, yet when Vietnamese are killed the CIA calls it termination under extreme circumstances? That exemplifies a fundamental lack of society's integrity. It is a problem involving education, religion, and everything else. You cannot keep changing these definitions; you have to be bound by them at some point. If a treaty is a treaty, then it is a treaty. It should not be twisted into a general statute passed by Congress to regulate Indians. Yet your definitions are changed all the time. Where is the integrity in the pursuit of knowledge and where is the integrity of identity in American society?

The fundamental problem of Western civilization is Christianity. It alleges to have an explanation in history, and yet its history does not include the people on the North American continent, nor does it include Asians. It includes only one group of Semites that are running through the desert to get out of the King of Egypt's way. All the Indian stories, myths, and explanations of creation and history really have to be seriously dealt with by, in particular, the American academic community. The Hopi explanation of four worlds is a good deal more realistic in terms of the ruins that exist around the world than any explanation given in the universities today. Indian stories about Creation and history have to be taken very seriously. But I see no way to get American society to take itself seriously enough to explore the question of what religion really is. Religion is necessary to force the community or society to have integrity as to everything else it deals with. If your religion cannot do that, then your society, it seems to me, can never pull itself together.

Until Western civilization faces the fact that Christianity is probably the most demonic thing mankind ever has experienced, then there is no hope for any solution to legal or any other problems. You should all take a look at Christian religious literature in terms of the psychological problems it raises. If you really want to get into your education theories, examine the Christian doctrine of conversion. Conversion implies a magical transformation of motivational factors and knowledge content like that! And that contradicts our whole experience. Until these fundamental points are cleared up, talking about education is not really talking about anything. You are talking about manipulation of curriculum.

Now for the good things about the anthros. We have had, in the last couple of years, a much more sensitive anthro. A number of them come forward and prove extremely valuable in some of the things we are doing. We have a very good anthropologist in Victoria, British Columbia who is helping on the fishing rights problem. He is digging up a lot of material and making it available to Indian tribes – in some cases refreshing memories of the older people with what used to happen, and in other cases being a total educational tool in terms of young people who have grown up completely away from tribal legend and tradition. A group of anthropologists have been working with us for over a year to get the Tonto Apaches a reservation in Arizona. They have been extremely helpful in documenting the case. Nancy Lurie who has been working with the Menominee in Wisconsin has done a tremendous job.

There have been some fundamental changes among the anthros in the last few years. But there is still too much emphasis by the institutions that graduate students have to do field work and write some type of paper. Until they get this type of idea out of their head, they are going to be measuring outdoor ovens for the next 50 years.

Rebirth of the Choctaw Community

Against a background of near extermination and removal, one Southeastern Indian nation reasserts control over its affairs

by James R. Richburg

[Editor's Note: In the interest of space, the in-depth historical analysis of events leading to the present struggle for community control by the Southeastern Indians originally presented by Dr. Richburg has been greatly abbreviated so that we might include this study in community development.]

At the time of contact there were about 200,000 Indians living in the Southeast and over 200 Indian tribes. This large population was sustained through an agricultural and hunting economy and enriched through contacts with other cultural areas including Mesoamerican peoples. Today there are approximately 50,000 Indians in the Southeast of whom 40,000 are Lumbee, 5,000 Cherokee, 3,500 Choctaw, 1,500 Seminole, and 500 Miccosukee. Several small populations of Indians such as the Catawba of South Carolina and the Chitimacha of Louisiana still live in the South also.

Seven tribes have been mentioned. Earlier, it was stated that 200 tribes had once lived in the Southeast. What happened to the other 193 tribes? Each tribe is a story in itself. Almost without exception, each saga possesses all the attributes of a Greek tragedy. The federal government directed its massive strength against the Southeastern tribes in the 1830's to once and for all remove the Indian to lands west of the Mississippi River. The Cherokee Trail of Tears has been immortalized, and the earlier Choctaw removal, although lesser known, holds equal tragedy.

Indians Involved in White Intrigues

The Southeastern Indians became involved in European intrigues of land acquisition and diplomacy. Georgia colonists sought to enlist the aid of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws to impede the spread of French influence in the west. Creeks and Chickasaws allied with the English, the Choctaw with the French, while the Cherokees sought to maintain an aloofness to wars of the white men. The neutral Cherokees, however, felt the brunt of the pressure for land by speculators and settlers, and by 1755 had been forced to make the first cession of lands to the colonists.

During the Revolutionary War the Creeks and Chickasaws sided with the British. The Cherokees apparently were divided as to which group to join, so some allied with their traditional enemies, the Creeks, against the colonists, while others fought against the British. After the revolution the United States signed treaties with the principal Indian nations in the Southeast; however, British agents and traders based in Florida, and the French in the west continued to promote their interest among the Southern tribes.

Pressure from land hungry settlers undermined the new treaties. The Creeks in Georgia were particularly pressured to cede most of their lands. By the War of 1812, near open warfare was raging between the Creeks and the settlers. Red Stick villages of the Creek Confederation sided with the British during the war while the White Stick Indians sided with the new nation. Civil War broke out within the Creek Confederation. Most of the fighting involved the lives of the two Creek factions engaged on behalf of the white man. Creek survivors of the intratribal warfare fled to Florida. The White Stick portion of the Creek Confederation, after having remained loyal to the United States, was forced to sign a treaty ceding two-thirds of their lands.

In less than 200 years since the establishment of the first colony, the Southern Indian confederations, farming towns, and political organization had been largely disrupted, and several tribes had been exterminated while other Indians had escaped to Florida and areas west of the white man's borders. But the most ironic and major injustices were yet to be perpetrated on the Southern Indian.

As if sensing the inevitable, the Cherokee and Choctaw, after 1800, made a conscious attempt to incorporate white institutions into their cultures. Churches, schools, and a constitutional government modeled after the United States Constitution were established. Both tribal groups appear to have been reconciling the process of acculturation and change within their own cultural setting.

In a large way, the removal of the tribes from the Southeast had been heralded from their first contacts with the white colonists. Clearly, the events leading up to 1800 signaled the end to the Southeastern Indian's way of life.

The first tribe to be removed form the Southeast was the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the case of the Choctaw, and later in similar fashion the Cherokee (it was most ironic for these tribal nations were clearly successful in the transition to a new way of life compatible to the life of white settlers who lived near them), lands were ceded by treaty, often against the wishes of the nations; yet each cession marked the compromising and conciliatory nature of the Choctaw and Cherokee in their relations with the United States government. Both nations had joined with the United States in the War of 1812, and both nations had participated with Andrew Jackson in defeating the Creeks.

"Our Doom is Sealed"

John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, had two major tenets in the development of a national Indian policy: 1) the United States preserve and civilize the Indians; 2) the United States not allow the Indians to control more land than they could cultivate [De Rossier, p. 41].

To meet these goals, Calhoun proposed establishing schools for the Indians and moving them west of the Mississippi. These proposals presented a problem of ordering in time – which do you do first? Do you establish the school and processes of education while in the Southeast and then remove to Mississippi, or do you move and then begin your education?

Calhoun wanted to select a tribe that would serve as a model of his policy for peaceful removal and for education. The tribe he selected was the Choctaw of Mississippi. They were peaceful, they were adapting well to white institutions, and their schools were prospering. He thought their removal would serve as a positive example. Hopefully, their progress and development would continue after they were removed. In 1818 negotiations with Choctaw chiefs were initiated. The Choctaw chiefs said no to removal. In 1818 and 1819 pressure from Mississippi settlers in the territorial legislature increased. Calhoun tried to hold true to his promise of letting the Indians decide their time of removal, and he resisted starting another negotiation.

Andrew Jackson, however, as a congressman from Tennessee, continued to bring pressure on the national level and another negotiation was started in 1819. This time it was headed by Jackson. Jackson was unsuccessful in securing a removal treaty since the Choctaw chiefs refused once again. In 1820 Jackson returned to Mississippi, and this time he was either going to secure a treaty or use troops. He produced the Treaty of Doaks Stand. The treaty exchanged land in Arkansas for land in Mississippi territory. The actual removal did not take place until 1832.

For the next ten years there were various strategies used to get the Choctaws to immigrate. Except for a very few Choctaws (the number is probably less than a hundred), the attempts were unsuccessful. Then two major events happened that would lead to removal – Calhoun resigned and Jackson was elected President.

In 1830 the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed by the Choctaws. The treaty ceded all lands in Mississippi in exchange for lands in Indian territory. However, Article 14 of the treaty added an important option. Article 14 stated that if individual Choctaws elected, they could remain in Mississippi, but they would come under state law. By registering under state law they could acquire a section of land, 640 acres, for each adult member of the family and half that amount for each child over ten, one-fourth that amount for each child under ten. This article is important when we try to answer why there are still Choctaw in Mississippi.

De Rossier described the mood of the Choctaw people as follows:

> The predominate mood of the Choctaws was neither one of anger nor of satisfaction. Rather, a feeling of sadness seemed to pervade the nation. The Indians realized that they must acquiesce to American demands or bear the responsibility either for extermination of the tribe or removal under unfortunate circumstances. In this depressed spirit, the Choctaw prepared to move to Indian territory during the three years allowed in the treaty. Chief David Folsom summed up the feeling of his people in a letter to the Presbyterian ministers in the nation: "We are exceedingly tired. We have just heard of the ratification of the Choctaw Treaty. Our doom is sealed. There is no other course for us but to turn our faces to our new home toward the setting sun [p. 128]."

The Choctaw removal was a tragedy of equal proportions to the immortal Cherokee Trail of Tears which was to follow some years later. Several removals were needed before the Mississippi Choctaw population was removed. The first occurred in 1832, the second around 1842-44, and the third in 1903.

There had been approximately 19,000 Choctaw prior to removal of the nation. After the second removal in 1840 approximately 1,000 Choctaws remained in Mississippi. They lived a marginal existence, since they were trapped between the free white culture and the enslaved black culture. As John Peterson has pointed out, there was no place for the Choctaw in Mississippi society. He could not be accepted as white, even though he was a free man, and he could not participate in white society. He thought of himself as a free man, however, and he would not associate with blacks. This remains the basic pattern today.

The Advent of Federal Services

In the 1880's Catholic missionaries set a precedent that would be influential in the development of the Indian communities of Mississippi. Under the missionary plan of the Catholics, a tract of land was purchased and allocated to Choctaw families although the deed remained with the Church. Later, when federal services were begun in 1918 for the Choctaws, this method would be used to define and establish the six Indian communities of present day Mississippi.

Events leading to the creation of the Choctaw Indian Agency are not clear. As a result of the Choctaw land settlements, the Mississippi Choctaw were excluded from the western rolls. The option was given to the Choctaw – he could go to Oklahoma by the time of the establishment of the rolls in the early 1900's or he could remain in Mississippi and never have the opportunity. In 1903 another removal stripped the Mississippi Choctaw of its educated populous and threw the existing Choctaw organizations into disarray.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs began sending field representatives to Mississippi to study the situation. In 1916 reports started calling for the establishment of federal assistance for the Choctaws. Congress, in 1918, appropriated monies for the establishment of the Choctaw Agency. The appropriations were for education, health, and land acquisition. The BIA Agency used the pattern of the Catholic missionaries and began buying land.

The Choctaw Agency is located in Philadelphia, Mississippi. It is eight miles from the nearest Indian community. The spatial isolation, physical isolation, plus the intense Indian-white-black racial patterns in Mississippi prevent effective interaction between the Agency and the Indian communities. Later when we ask why the era of federal services did not produce any return, this is one of the best answers. Who is going to go to the Choctaw Agency if it means having to go into Philadelphia, Mississippi? Looking back to the Calhoun policy, the creation of the Choctaw and the Cherokee agencies was an open admission that the removal policies of the United States had failed.

In 1968 the median education for the Choctaws was 3.6 years of school. Economically, over 75% of the population fell below the national poverty level. This raises the question of the utility of federal services for the Choctaws. Although in danger of being over simplistic, it appears that if the last removal in 1903 had not been conducted, the Choctaw would have been well on their way to once again developing a vibrant tribal system incorporating white institutions. They had once again established their school systems. There is much talk of bilingual education today, but it appears that the Mississippi Choctaws had operationalized bilingual instruction in the 1880's. These schools were run by the Choctaws and completely separate from white schools. After the BIA was established, the bilingual curriculum was ended and the state of Mississippi's curriculum was instituted.

Independent Development

The Lumbee Indians make an interesting comparison, particularly if we bear in mind the question of development with federal services and, in the Lumbee case, outside the realm of federal services.

Today 40,000 Lumbee Indians reside in North Carolina in and around Robeson County. The Lumbees, although situated in an impoverished area, have managed to develop the largest middle-class among any Indian tribe today. They have had their own school system. What the state did was appropriate money directly to the Lumbee Board of Education. The Lumbee, in the late 1880's, established Pembroke State University where they trained their own teachers and administrators. Today there are about 400 Lumbee teachers teaching in the Lumbee schools. The white teachers are in a distinct minority and often are in very specialized fields.

In 1954 North Carolina state officials said they would comply with the Supreme Court ruling on integration by integrating the Lumbee and the blacks. The Lumbee said, "We will not lose control of our schools, and we will not be integrated with blacks nor whites." The battle continues and this has been the main rallying cry of the Lumbee people. It has probably brought them together as a group, and they are now nearly nationalistic. In integrated systems the Lumbee are trying to maintain their traditional input into the school and to reconcile it with other groups' rights to make inputs.

Approximately 3,200 Choctaw live in these seven distinct rural Indian communities in east central Mississippi: Tucker, Boque Homa, Boque Chitto, Conehatta, Standing Pine, Red Water, and Pearl River. This is a noncontiguous reservation, and the stereotypes of the large Southwestern reservations do not hold in Mississippi. These places are Indian lands held in federal trust. The settlement pattern is 40 acres and a frame house. It is a similar pattern to that of the rural whites and blacks.

The predominant language spoken in 75% of Choctaw households is Choctaw. In 17% both English and Choctaw are spoken, and English is the predominant language in the remaining 7% of Choctaw households. The Choctaw are very proud that the language has endured through several missionary efforts, three removals, and interaction with the larger society.

The improvement in local job opportunities has, to some extent, curbed out-migration and has even resulted in the return of many Choctaw families long absent from the Choctaw communities. But improvement in local job opportunities has less impact on the better educated Choctaws. The increasing number of Choctaw students finishing high school and post-high school instruction still face great difficulties in finding suitable local employment and are leaving the area in increasing numbers.

One should bear in mind that east Mississippi is an impoverished area. Everyone, basically, in that area of Mississippi is a poor person. Sometimes BIA personnel have problems because their pay is so much higher than the average of the people in the city, even the upper-class whites in the city. There is quite a bit of antagonism. The Choctaw people are very distressed about this because once a BIA person gets a job, he is there until death or retirement. This might not be unique to the South, but it is a very perplexing problem especially when there are educated Indian people who want those jobs, and who need them, and who need to be in them. In fact, there are only one or two classroom teachers who are Indian. All the rest are local whites.

The strongly entrenched pattern of ethnic separation that exists in the Choctaw area and in the South in general has been and continues to be a major factor in the Choctaw-non-Choctaw relationships. Whites and blacks comprise, respectively, approximately 65 and 30% of the population in the Choctaw area, whereas the Choctaws comprise less than five percent of the population. While local whites recognize that Choctaws are Indians, not blacks, Choctaws are still locally defined as non-whites and are subject to much the same restrictions as the black population. Where they are denied white status and the right to participate in white institutions or use white facilities, the Choctaws have the choice of using black facilities and thereby accepting non-white status, or remaining to themselves and maintaining their status as neither black nor white. Wherever possible, the Choctaws consistently choose the latter alternative.

The Choctaw still rarely associate with non-Choctaws, and where possible have organized and utilized their own separate institutions and facilities. Such separate development has been handicapped in the past by the dispersed settlement pattern in the seven Choctaw communities. Nevertheless, the Choctaws have been quite successful in maintaining their separate ethnic status in the local area by associating as little as possible with whites and blacks.

Integration of the different Choctaw communities into a common social unit is provided by a common heritage and language as well as mutual participation in institutions reaching beyond community boundaries. There are three primary integrating institutions: the schools, the churches, and the tribal government.

The mass removals destroyed most of the traditional Choctaw social organization beyond the individual family and kinship links to other related families. Residency in or identification with a particular Choctaw community forms the next higher level of social identification. To some extent community identification overlaps kinship ties since Choctaw communities are small with most families having multiple kinship links with other families in the community. In the past, the lack of transportation and distance effectively isolated the Choctaw communities from each other and there was very infrequent interaction. Recently, this isolation of individual communities has begun to decline as Choctaw students from all communities attend one high school and as opportunities for jobs and better housing result in movement of families from one community to another.

Schools

The general level of education remains low. The median grade of school completed by Choctaws twenty-five years old and older is 3.6 years of school. Contrast this to the Choctaw Nation that was discussed earlier. Younger Choctaws are far better educated than older Choctaws. The median grade completed by Choctaws twenty to twenty-four years old is ninth grade. It was only in 1964 that the Choctaw had a high school in Mississippi. Until 1964, a Choctaw student finished the outlying community school with a sixth grade education and then dropped out. Previously the option was to go to Riverside, California, or to go to Oklahoma and see his parents during the summer. This was an option that the Mississippi Choctaw did not often elect. Bear in mind that these are the people who said, "No, we are not being removed westward, we are staying here." And against all odds they remained. They rebelled against the concept of the boarding school taking their children away for long months at a time.

The Choctaws are segregated in federal boarding schools. There are about 1400 students in Choctaw Indian schools. About 650 attend the Pearl River Choctaw High School. The students from the other communities board at Pearl River. There are other school systems. There are Neshoba County schools and Philadelphia public schools. Very few Choctaws attend these schools.

Choctaws Control Churches

In terms of religion, the Choctaw are primarily Baptists. There is some Methodist influence from a mission being established in Pearl River. The Methodists are not following the pattern established by the Baptists of allowing the Choctaw people to control their own church affairs. Consequently, the Methodist movement may not progress because the Choctaws are not in control. The Tucker community received Catholic missionaries in the 1880's, and continues to be Catholic today. This is important in relationships with a non-Indian society. Tucker community is the only place today in Mississippi where whites, blacks, and Indians worship together. Bear in mind this is the only time these three groups ever meet in a common building or have any common activities.

The New Choctaw Baptist Association organized by the Choctaws in the early 1900's and composed only of Choctaw churches was the only formal tie between Choctaws in different communities until the formation of the tribal council in 1945. This association and its individual churches have remained, until recently, the only formal institution entirely under the control of the Choctaws themselves. This was the result of the Oklahoma Choctaws sending back missionaries to the band in Mississippi. The white congregations did not allow (and still do not) Choctaws to worship at their church. The missionaries trained Choctaw pastors and they opened their own churches.

Tribal Government

The successive removals destroyed the Choctaw governments each time they were organized. Even though those Choctaws who did get land and stayed in Mississippi (69 family heads) were technically able to vote, to be on juries, and to hold political offices, there was no voting by Choctaws in Mississippi until after World War II. This was also true, of course, of the black population of Mississippi until the voter registration movement.

Until 1945 there was no official government organization for the Choctaw band of Mississippi Indians. At that point the tribal council was formed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This sixteen member council is composed of representatives apportioned from each of the seven Choctaw communities.

The council elects its own chairman who is the official spokesman for the Mississippi Choctaws. In a large way this subverted the informal organizations that were already established in the communities. The people who held tribal office were literally appointed by the BIA and served very much as rubber stamp mechanisms for the Choctaw Agency Office of the BIA.

This is changing very rapidly. Part of the reason is that the environment of activism and political change of the '60's did not by-pass the Choctaw. They observed what was going on, just as they had watched the French, the British, and the Spanish colonists, and took advantage of it. The tribal council is becoming very sensitive that it should be the controlling organization in the Choctaw community. Phillip Martin, the current Chairman of the Council, says, "We are developing a state within a state here. We cannot talk about it that way because people will start talking about secession." But in a sense that is their intention – complete autonomy within our system.

The pervasive issue in Choctaw is the issue of control. Who is going to make the decisions? Who is to control the programs? Who is to evaluate? Who is to be held accountable?

Choctaw was administered 500 miles away by the Muskogee Area Office in Oklahoma. It was a nightmare in terms of administration and in terms of the money that was siphoned off as it passed from Washington to Muskogee to the tribal agencies. As a result of the organization of the Southeastern tribes, no longer does the Choctaw Agency go to Muskogee, Oklahoma and then to Washington; they now go directly to Washington. This is true of all Southeastern tribes who are now under federal services.

Involving the Community in Action

In 1966 a Community Action Program was created for the Choctaw. Phillip Martin was named to head the Community Action Program (CAP). The Office of Economic Opportunity laid down broad guidelines, but one of the most important outlines was operationalizing how a community could be involved in the program. The Policy Advisory Committee was composed of Choctaws. This represented the first institutional structure that the Choctaw people themselves could utilize to control their own affairs. It is the Community Action Program which has pointed out to the tribal council that they should be the masters of their own destiny.

Initially there was little conflict between the CAP and the BIA Choctaw Agency; the CAP program supplemented the BIA programs. In 1968, however, the first competitive program was initiated. That program was a Follow Through program in early childhood education. The program came under the jurisdiction of CAP and it was to be implemented in the BIA schools.

The Choctaw Follow Through program was based on the Tucson Early Education Model, which is a very open-ended child centered program. One of its first tenets was that language development is based on accepting the child's presently spoken language and building upon it. This countered the idea of the child depositing the Choctaw language at the door step and coming into an English world. Many BIA teachers could not adapt to this, and so it took a massive retraining program with CAP employed people to carry on the training.

A Spreading Precedent

The issue of control had begun with the Follow Through program and it did proliferate. It was something that the Choctaw people had been wanting and they approached it with a lot of vigor and strength to try and implement it.

This represented the first time that tribal employees worked in the Indian school. This was the first time there were Choctaw parents sitting in the decision making body which determined how education affected their children. It was a powerful precedent in Choctaw with implications for all BIA Agency branches. Now other BIA branches are afraid that Indian control will diffuse from one educational program to encompass all aspects of Indian affairs. What is so beautiful is that it did, and it is, and it is going to.

It has been our experience in the Southeast that the Office of Economic Opportunity is at times an administrative monstrosity. But in terms of Indian and black community development in the Southeast, it has been a real facilitating force because it allowed the individual Southeastern tribes, it allowed the regional organizations, and it allowed the United Southeastern Tribes to dispense money within program guidelines. The target populations made the decisions on implementation. By providing new jobs and positions of leadership for Choctaws on various OEO projects, CAP augmented the tribal council as a structure through which Choctaws could potentially compete with the Choctaw Agency for control of Indian programs.

Assuming Control

On July 1, 1971, a new tribal government was operationalized in Choctaw, Mississippi. The tribal government had been planned for a full year. Phillip Martin traveled tirelessly throughout the Choctaw communities talking about it in tribal meetings and individual community meetings and trying not to get too far ahead of the more conservative members of his community. The advisory school board will become a certified school board during the fall of this coming year. This is phase II in their tribal self-determination program. Most likely they will take over transportation, meals, and dorms first and then eventually move into instruction. They are retaining the services of independent educational professionals as evaluators. The board defines the areas for study, receives the recommendations, and adapts them to their needs. This circumvents the BIA evaluators whose reports seemingly always correspond to Bureau purposes.

The United Southeastern Tribes

Probably the most important thing that has happened in Southeastern Indian affairs recently has been the organization in the late '60's of the United Southeastern Tribes, Inc. Its charter members are the Miccosukee, the Seminole, the Cherokee of North Carolina, and the Choctaw of Mississippi. Affiliate members include the Seneca Nation of New York and Chitamacha representatives of Louisiana. There is a movement to organize every Indian group in the Southeast. This will include the remnants of the Catawba Nation and several other tribal groups. The USET provides a means for the Southeastern Indians to join together in promoting programs which affect their lives.

Developmental Education Committee Recommendations

Community control examined as recommendation in unconventional workshop report

Preface

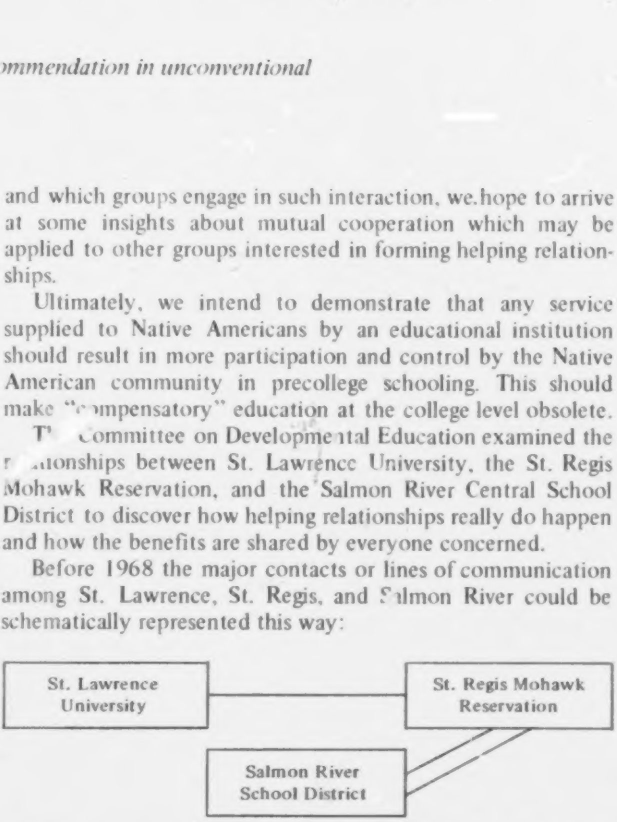
This workshop originally was charged to consider the topic of developmental education for the Native American student. In discussion it quickly became apparent that the committee members shared similar views. These views include:
1) While the short-range goal of remedial education should be to take the Native American college student from whatever point he is at to wherever he wants to go educationally by providing aid to rectify the inbalance in skills caused by schooling, societal attitudes, economics, or whatever and,
2) while this presently constitutes a crisis need for students already in college where a plain and overriding obligation exists on the part of the institution recruiting Native Americans today to provide all the supportive services (academic, economic, personal, social, cultural) necessary for these students to survive, yet,
3) those few techniques in "compensatory" education which teachers in the field would generally agree are effective, usually in the humanistic tradition, have no specificity concerning the Native American. Since virtually no study along these lines has yet taken place and recommendations by this Committee are likely to be presumptuous,.
4) the more proper avenue along which the workshop should direct its concerns is the *long-term* goal of "compensatory" education – its abolition; and,
5) there further being general agreement that the most effective way to remove the inequities necessitating "compensatory" education is by supporting and promoting Native American participation in and control of the schools their children attend prior to college, it was decided.
6) to investigate models which demonstrate ways colleges and universities can help such participation and control to come about.

Actually, it was more instructive to concentrate on depicting the actual web of multifaceted, multidimensional relationships among a university, a reservation, and a public school system. By seeing how these relationships come about through time, what reciprocal benefits the participants derive, and which groups engage in such interaction, we hope to arrive at some insights about mutual cooperation which may be applied to other groups interested in forming helping relationships.

Ultimately, we intend to demonstrate that any service supplied to Native Americans by an educational institution should result in more participation and control by the Native American community in precollege schooling. This should make "compensatory" education at the college level obsolete.

The Committee on Developmental Education examined the relationships between St. Lawrence University, the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, and the Salmon River Central School District to discover how helping relationships really do happen and how the benefits are shared by everyone concerned.

Before 1968 the major contacts or lines of communication among St. Lawrence, St. Regis, and Salmon River could be schematically represented this way:



Evidently, there was little activity as each group was isolated by its private concerns. Two Mohawk students had attended St. Lawrence. Ties between the school and the reservation were limited to the payroll and the students. Nothing significant was transpiring between the two educational institutions.

1968 was a crucial year for Native Americans in New York State and particularly at St. Regis. The St. Regis Mohawks conducted a boycott of the Salmon River Central School in April; in December a protest over the violation of Jay Treaty rights resulted in a blockade of the bridge to Canada. (The St. Regis Mohawk Reservation stradles the United States-Canadian border; the Jay Treaty guarantees Native Americans unimpeded access to either the United States or Canada.) The Mohawk community, despite the heterogeneous nature of the reservation, coalesced around these issues of mutual concern. This community concern led to organizational and educational breakthroughs.

Members of the Developmental Education Committee: Steve Adolphus, Betsy Auleta, Michele Heitzman, Joanne McLean.

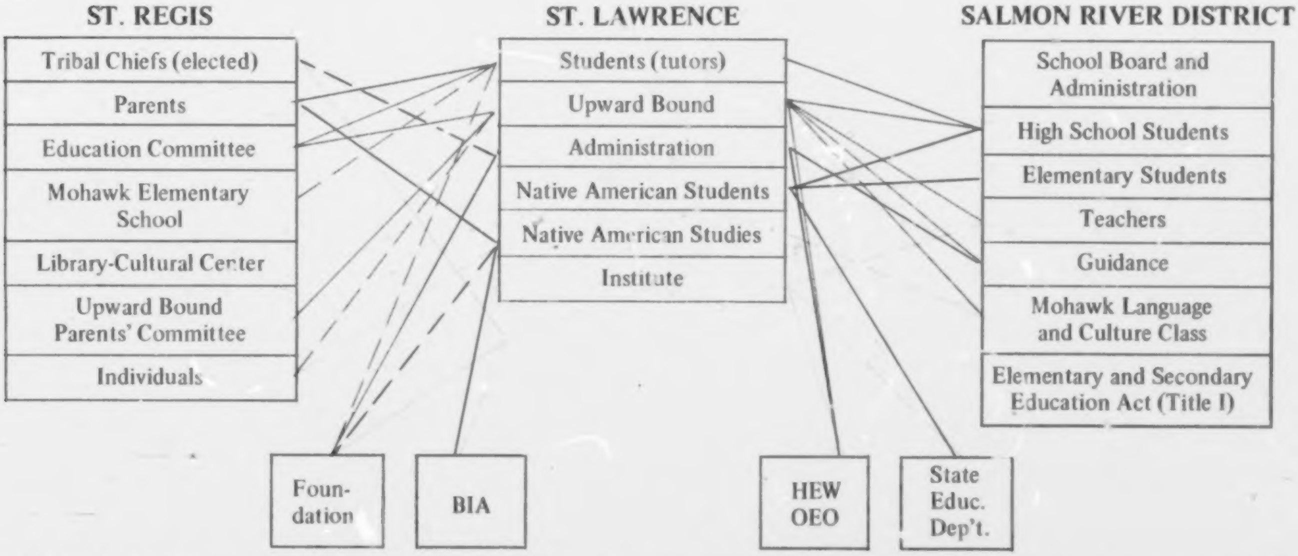
At the time of the boycott, the Mohawk parents organized a Parents' Education Committee to communicate with the Salmon River district officials and the New York State Education Department. Beyond addressing itself to specific grievances with the school district, the Education Committee pressed for the amendment of the New York State Education Law to permit Native Americans from reservations to run and be seated on local school boards. The New York State Legislature enacted such a law, and in May, 1970 the first Mohawk was elected to the Salmon River school board. (At present there are three Mohawks on the nine man board.)

The bridge blockade controversy alerted St. Lawrence to the fact that there is an Indian reservation, a minority group, right at their doorstep. Contact was made through Ernie Benedict, a graduate of SLU and one of the few links existing prior to 1968. In October 1969 St. Lawrence and St. Regis began the tutoring program, Operation Kanyengehaga.

To bring you up to date on the extent of interaction and communication which has been generated, the Committee has depicted the current web of relationships between St. Lawrence, St. Regis, and the Salmon River School District in three charts. Each chart represents the efforts of one of the units to reach out and establish a line of communication to the other two groups. (This does not deny the likelihood that the contact is a reciprocal, two-way communication, but simply attempts to indicate the usual pattern.)

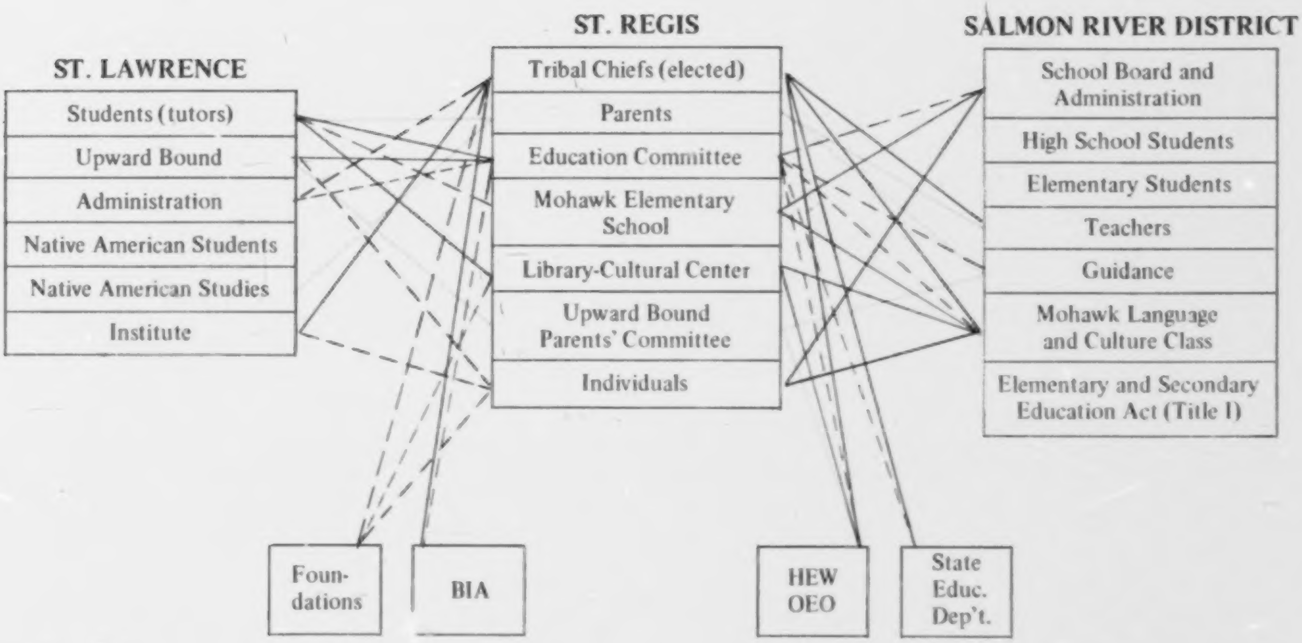
Our basic conclusion after examining these developments is that because these relationships now involve too broad a base of concerned individuals and have attracted the concern of several major institutions, this participatory process cannot now be stopped without serious repercussions. Interestingly, we found that the role played by administrators in this effort at large-scale involvement was minimal. Most of the significant contacts, the lines of communication which seem to be ongoing and have the most implications in terms of reaching many different people, were initiated from below the administrative level. The relationships were not imposed from above; instead, they grew out of perceived needs. Some of these contacts are institutionalized and some are dependent upon individual personalities. Over time, as the lines are stabilized through use and as certain expectations are realized, even those relationships which now rely on individuals will become institutionalized.

We also found it interesting to note that agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the New York State Education Department had almost no coordinative role and had little to do with bringing this together. Their relationships with the three constituencies are almost always on a unitary basis, one-to-one, and are concerned with the operation of a particular program with one of the three groups. The group with the greatest coordinative effect was the reservation. Prior to their involvement with St. Regis, the two educational institutions, the Salmon River School District and St. Lawrence University, engaged in almost no communication, nor were many of the other agencies now involved familiar with each other. The reservation forms the center of this web.


ST. REGIS
Tribal Chiefs (elected)
Parents
Education Committee
Mohawk Elementary School
Library-Cultural Center
Upward Bound Parents' Committee
Individuals
ST. LAWRENCE
Students (tutors)
Upward Bound
Administration
Native American Students
Native American Studies
Institute
SALMON RIVER DISTRICT
School Board and Administration
High School Students
Elementary Students
Teachers
Guidance
Mohawk Language and Culture Class
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title I)
Foundation
BIA
HEW OEO
State Educ. Dep't.

This chart depicts the lines of communication now utilized as a result of St. Lawrence and St. Regis working together to develop programs which will fulfill the educational objectives of the Mohawk people. This relationship began with Operation Kanyengehaga, an effort that involves college students who tutor Mohawk primary and secondary students. As an institution of higher education, St. Lawrence became interested in fostering students' aspirations for college through an Upward Bound program. This program has been instrumental in drawing Salmon River Central into the web of working relationships. These two programs and this Institute, which has provided a proliferating network of education contacts for the Mohawk people, are the most active and are central to St. Lawrence's participation with the Indian community.

Key: *Each line represents readily identifiable, outfacing, active ties. This does not preclude reciprocal relationships; in fact, the flow in the opposite direction will likely be shown on a companion chart. Solid lines indicate more frequently used lines of communication with broken lines illustrating less frequent contacts.*


ST. LAWRENCE
Students (tutors)
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Native American Students
Native American Studies
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Tribal Chiefs (elected)
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Education Committee
Mohawk Elementary School
Library-Cultural Center
Upward Bound Parents' Committee
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SALMON RIVER DISTRICT
School Board and Administration
High School Students
Elementary Students
Teachers
Guidance
Mohawk Language and Culture Class
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title I)
Foundations
BIA
HEW OEO
State Educ. Dep't.

This chart clearly demonstrates the dramatic change in the involvement of St. Regis Mohawks as they act upon and reshape their educational environment. Whereas they previously maintained an isolation which caused them to suffer many unjust and inequitable conditions, St. Regis now makes a concerted effort to change the system. The tribal chiefs and the Parents' Education Committee have spearheaded this drive. The Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center, opened in September, 1971, is gaining in importance as its contribution to the reservation increases. Government programs through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the New York State Department of Education play a significant role in assisting educational development.

The programs which generate the most participation (in terms of numbers of lines of communication and their intensity) are the Mohawk language class, Operation Kanyengehaga, Upward Bound, and the Parents' Education Committee.

The development with the greatest impact in terms of control is representation on the school board. Also, those foundation and government programs which provide independent funding to projects on the reservation, most of which are affiliated with the Library-Cultural Center, contribute to Indian control of supportive programs in education. Good examples are Right to Read and adult education, funded by HEW and the BIA respectively, which are enabling Mohawk adults to improve their skills and earn a high school equivalency.

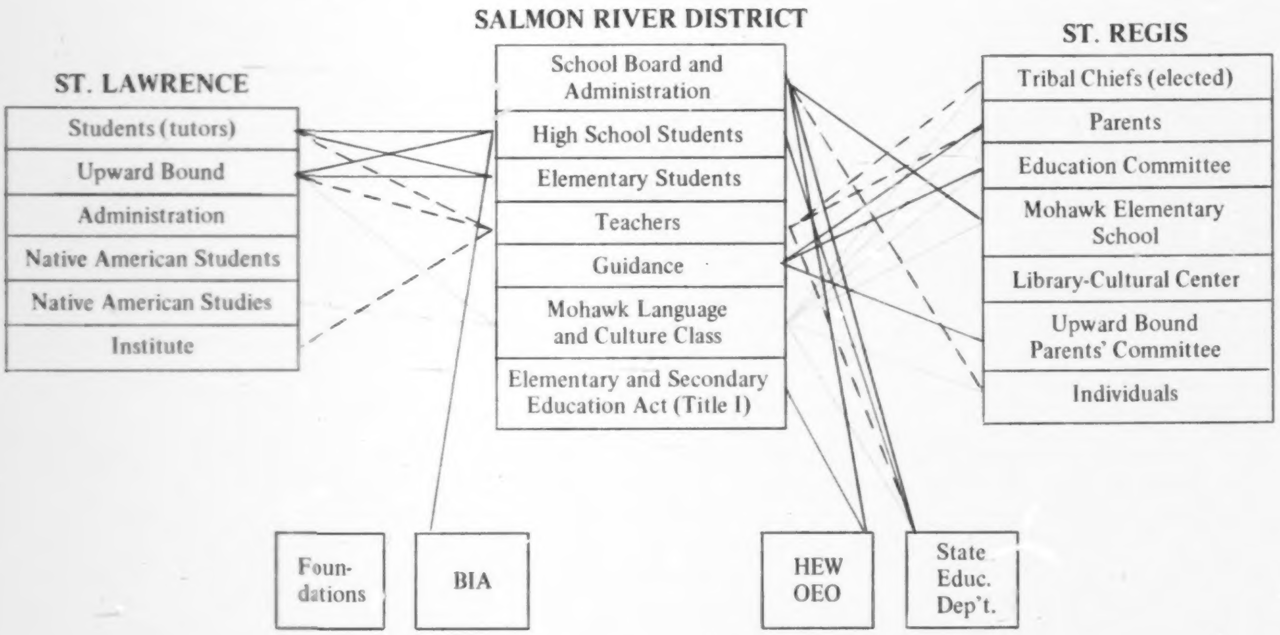
DISCUSSION

Steve Adolphus: One of the most healthy relationships seems to be the tutoring program which emanates from St. Lawrence students on a voluntary basis. Had that program been imposed by an administrator with the attitude, "Gee, it would be nice if my students went to St. Regis to tutor," we suspect that it probably would not have happened. But because it grew out of perceived needs, it is viable, it keeps on going, and it affects a lot of people.

Betsy Auleta: As one of the first things asked for when communication between St. Lawrence and St. Regis began, the tutorial program may, in fact, be a basic building block for all of these relationships. This network, this web, grew out of a couple of incidents, a couple of interested people getting together with each other, and it grew from the community. It didn't grow from a structure that was set up and imposed on the people who it was going to affect. People seemed to have decided whom they were going to deal with, on what level, and they just worked the thing out themselves.

Michele Heitzman: What we got out of this workshop in terms of what we could do ourselves with our local schools and our local communities (and this works for any community, not just a Native American community) is that things start on a one-to-one, personal basis among interested people. If I am going to begin anything at Cazenovia, I've got to continue having contact with Lloyd Elm at the Onondaga Reservation, the high school guidance counselor, and so on.

Adolphus: We started this project with the theory that probably cultural awareness has to be existent before any of this happens. The boycott helped to cement the feelings among the St. Regis Mohawks that there was strength to be found in numbers and that there are some things worth putting yourself on the line for. Then there was the explosion effect after that. If we had done transparencies to chart the consequences of this over a period of time, you would have seen that when certain events took place, spider webs went out all over the place immediately afterwards – one was the boycott, one was the institution of the tutoring program. The most important one was the initiation of the Mohawk language and culture courses in primary and junior high. Now the courses go right up to the twelfth grade. That program drew


SALMON RIVER DISTRICT
School Board and Administration
High School Students
Elementary Students
Teachers
Guidance
Mohawk Language and Culture Class
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title I)
ST. LAWRENCE
Students (tutors)
Upward Bound
Administration
Native American Students
Native American Studies
Institute
ST. REGIS
Tribal Chiefs (elected)
Parents
Education Committee
Mohawk Elementary School
Library-Cultural Center
Upward Bound Parents' Committee
Individuals
Foundations
BIA
HEW OEO
State Educ. Dep't.

This chart shows how the Salmon River Central School District has entered into communications in an effort to meet the Mohawk educational needs. The Central School is composed of 39.1% Native American students in grades 4-12. Many of the non-instructional personnel are Native Americans. However, only six of the 120 teachers and one of the three guidance counselors are Native Americans. The real breakthroughs which tie the reservation and the school together came with the election of Mohawk School Board members (of which there are now three among a nine man board) and the initiation of the Mohawk language and culture class for grades 3-9. Upon this base the school and the Mohawk leaders are building a new curriculum which incorporates more Native American related studies through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

on all the resources of the area; it brought in many people from the reservation and from the colleges. And it is an affirmation of cultural identity.

Minerva White: The strength of the boycott would lead one to believe that we must have all been boycotting for the same purpose. Years later I found out that we weren't. We all had our own reasons. They were all different. Some of the people wanted to get rid of a school teacher, some people wanted to have the opportunity to send their children to another school district, and the largest number wanted to have representation on the school board. There were all kinds of reasons. We did get representation on the school board. This seems to be the answer. It is slow though.

Jim Scannell: At the heart of any type of mobilization or community organization there is a certain amount of energy that is generated around a particular issue. Could you explain how that energy was sustained after that particular issue may have been solved? It has been my experience that people will rally around an issue if it is an immediate type of concern. They will go to one boycott, they will go to one meeting or one demonstration and the energy will be dissipated.

M. White: At the time of the boycott the tribe decided to have an education committee. This committee consisted of very active people on the reservation who came from all different sections of the reservation.

Adolphus: Once you organized that committee, if only for one purpose, it made contacts with a lot of different institutions, governing bodies, and individuals, and the people get a sense for what they can do.

Lonnie Morrison: The boycott might have been the initial thing, but once the committee got together, they began to see other roles they could play which would, in turn, sustain the committee.

Ronald Daly: If you were to study the other school districts at that time in this area, you would have found that their administration was similar to what you found in Salmon River Central. The boycott itself made a contribution to more democratic, participatory administration in the school districts throughout this whole area. Let's not just single out Salmon River; my responsibility covers eight-hundred and some school districts in the state. I saw the effects of this school boycott, and this was a tremendous contribution to education throughout this whole area.

Art Einhorn: There is a broader picture here in terms of the Indian community, education, and children which came out in discussions with Sol Tax and Bob Richburg. Examine the St. Regis situation: the provocative factor was the mistreatment of a child. This was an incident which brought the community together. And something emerged from this. Something comparable happened to Tama, Iowa where the community was totally ignored and they were taken from the school that they had always enjoyed on the reservation. This brought about a joining of the factions on the reserve, the school was restored, and certain things blossomed from that later on in terms of the Tama Indian community. Bob Richburg pointed out that a comparable situation existed at Pearl River among the Mississippi Choctaw.

To a certain extent, although the degree of it is hard to determine at this point, similar things have happened at Onondaga with the boycott relating to the development of the all-Indian school. So I think we are looking at much broader implications in terms of community action, outward flow, and interaction with other groups stemming from children and education.

Adolphus: Also the Route 81 controversy at Onondaga is analogous to the bridge strike. That is activity in a political sphere as well as in Indian education.

Ida Headley: This really points out the nature of our society and how you break into it. First you have a scattered community. Then you have an incident which brings people together until there is some kind of a community awareness. Then people start challenging the traditional institutions. And only then can the minorities break into this system. Until we have this community awareness and these action-oriented kinds of activities which make people take notice, we are going to be left out. It just points up what kinds of things our system responds to. Any time you attempt to institute change, you have to keep this in mind when you develop strategies.

Tony Gullo: Are the members of this committee advocating that the participants go back to their respective reservations and institutions and find a cause around which people can mobilize?

Adolphus: No, the boycott is one of many things that happen in the pattern. The boycott helped to build a strong sense of identity, and I think that you have to have a strong community identity before any of this can happen. If Mohawk language and culture courses had been established in the school, that probably would have been a catalyst because it involves so many people. The Library-Cultural Center on the reservation which brings so many people together and reaches out in so many different directions is an important catalyst.

Joanne McLean: Put yourself in the position of a teacher during the Salmon River boycott. How would you have felt? We had been going along very blissfully in our district because we have a beautiful plant; I personally felt that I was doing a good job, most teachers also thought they were doing a good job. The boycott shook us loose like apples in trees. The Mohawks were successful just by boycotting because it made us aware that things were not what we thought. For a while we acted like a little turtle going back into his shell, and it has not been easy to get out of that shell. I think a few of us have had to try to make an effort to come out. I think that my coming out will help. The main point made here today is that it is not institutions that make things happen, it is people.

Auleta: I think that the point of all this, the key thing that we all learned in this workshop, was the idea that the strongest link comes from the community. After its first contact with St. Lawrence, the St. Regis community said, "We want tutoring. We think a tutorial program would be good for our students." This was the first little step. The tutoring, Upward Bound, and the student involvement from St. Lawrence is very important. But it is important because it came from the whole community; it was not a program that someone put together and forced on the community. It does not mean that the tutoring, for example, would have to be a model that everyone need use. If another school is investigating a possible working relationship, the people involved in the institution are going to have to say, "Alright, we're listening. You talk. If there is anything we can do, you tell us what it is and we will try to do it. You tell us how to help your community, and we will use our resources to assist you." The fact is that different communities have different needs. And the people in the communities are the only ones who know what they need. This was the problem with our workshop on compensatory education. Here we were sitting in a group saying, "O.K., compensatory education is needed because students are entering college who are not prepared to do college work." But we do not know for sure how to make that kind of a program any better because we do not have direct contact with the people to find out what their needs are. Most people know what their needs are, but nobody ever asks them.

Adolphus: What should administrators do if all this – or much of it – seems to happen beneath them? Certainly, since some of them have to be sensitive to movements around them, they should keep their ears open for ground swells, be receptive and supportive, put in whatever they can, and at least not stand in the way when people are trying to do this kind of thing.

We have to be very careful about paternalism. None of these relationships are one-way. Everybody on both sides always perceives it as being helpful to him. If you say, "I need to do something for somebody else," how long do you think that will last? This brings us to the point of individual charisma and dedication versus institutionalizing roles. We are pretty sure that this would not happen so quickly without specific personalities. The question is, if they all go away tomorrow, will these programs survive? They will now because this mesh is so dense, but it probably is incumbent on institutions, once this thing becomes viable, to institutionalize the roles so that others can easily step in.

Lyman Pierce: I wonder if the institutions that are involved in this focus on Native Americans, because Indians are popular today, are missing the other communities that are involved. I would hope that the other communities are receiving or would receive like attention so that we all rise together. There are different segments in each local community that could evolve into a community supportive of each other and the institution should fit into that larger community sense.

One of the points that was made ought to be reemphasized, that is, Native Americans are going to make an impact on the educational community of America and maybe on the various other communities in America.

Robert Wells: I do not have any disagreement with what the Committee has done but I do not think we could have accomplished so much without Minerva. She is very modest about these things. Without the disposition and support of the people in the Indian community and without leadership, no college, high school, or civic action group can do anything at all because the articulation of the needs and the mobilization on the reservation must be done by the indigenous leadership. This could all stop tomorrow if they decided that it is in their best interest not to cooperate. In over four years, just think how many people at St. Regis have been involved in mobilization, leadership, and community projects. And it is becoming more institutionalized. Nobody started out saying that it was self-determination, but that is what it is. People get more and more confidence the longer they are giving the directions.

WORKSHOP

Continuing and Vocational Education Committee Recommendations

Preface

There is an urgent need for new directions in American education. Reassessment of the entire educational system is imperative in an effort to develop institutions which are responsive to various community and/or individual needs. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has recently formulated a policy statement reaffirming that education is a lifelong process. Education does not cease with the attainment of a degree nor with entry into the world of work. One must be able to move freely in and out of educational institutions at any time.

The U.S. Office of Education has identified another important concern. The distinction that presently exists between professional and nonprofessional occupations as fostered by our educational institutions and the community at large has prevented many people from pursuing meaningful and rewarding careers. There is nothing wrong with building a house as compared with teaching in a classroom or dictating to others from an executive desk. All of these are ways of making a living and satisfying personal needs, and all are equally important and necessary to satisfy the total needs of any community.

As we begin to consider what education will be like in the world of tomorrow, we have to realize that we must change the educational system as it presently exists. In short, we need to program for pluralism. We must learn to structure our institutions to live with differences, to program for differences, and to allow these educational centers to develop ways and means by which all people can arrive at a satisfying educational experience and go out from such centers with a preparedness that equips them for living in a multicultural and multinterest world.

One segment of our diverse population that has been greatly neglected by all aspects of the educational system is the Native American. The American educational system has not coped with or adapted its structures to include the Native American. As a result, meaningful educational opportunities for Native Americans and the contributions that Native Americans can make to education and educational institutions need to be included immediately into all educational programs.

Given the present structure of higher education, the division that seems to have the most flexibility is the Division of Continuing Education. If this is the case, what can the Division of Continuing Education do to program for Native Americans?

Plan of Action

Introduction: The following plan of action described in separate categories should not be construed as sequential or isolated. What are stated here are simply the essential and minimal components that an educational institution must consider if it is willing to commit itself to Indian education. A

Members of the Continuing and Vocational Education Committee: Joel Bixby, Tony Gullo, Gerry Krzemien, and Lyman Pierce.

realistic plan of action is an ongoing process which should take into consideration the following:

1) Assessment of community needs
   A. Preliminary information about Native American communities is necessary prior to any initial dialogue or communication.
   B. The institution and the Native American community should strive to jointly assess needs of that community.

2) Inventory of community resources
   A. Rigorous self-analysis by the institution is necessary in respect to what such an institution can offer a Native American community.
   B. Additionally, the institution should make every effort to identify all resources available within that community. Some examples are the Board of Continuing Educational Services, adult education programs, manpower training programs, and expertise within the Native American community. Thus the institution can take on the additional role of a local clearinghouse.

3) Program planning

One of the ways in which institutions can begin to program for the Native American community is by examining the manner in which other Indian educational institutions (Navajo Community College for example) have programmed for their own communities. While realizing that it may be impossible for every institution to program in this way, the following may provide some suggestions.

   A. An orientation program for faculty that develops a sensitivity to Native American culture, history, and problems.
   B. The development of courses for credit relevant to the Native American community such as arts, crafts, skills, language, culture, history, etc. Whenever possible, Native Americans should be employed in the development as well as the teaching of such courses.
   C. The development of supportive services in the Division of Continuing Education that are attuned to the special nature of Native American problems.
   D. The college should make every effort to insure the placing of Native Americans in programs where the community has demonstrated a need, i.e., nursing, teaching, business management, etc.
   E. The Division of Continuing Education should make every effort to offer courses at times and places that are easily accessible to Native Americans, i.e., on the reservation if requested or in urban centers.

4) Implementation

No plan of action can be successful unless there is developed a feeling of personal relationship and mutual trust between the educational institution and the Native American community. Operating under such conditions it is possible for both the educational institution and the Native American community to derive mutual benefits and therefore insure the success of an agreed upon plan of action.

Conclusion: We realize that not all educational institutions are presently capable or will ever be capable of programming for Native Americans. However, it is incumbent upon those educational institutions that are located in or near Native American areas of concentration to begin to implement some of the recommendations and plans of action presented by the members of the institute.

We, the members of this committee, feel that possibly the best solution to the educational problems, goals, and needs of the Native American community in the Northeast can only be resolved by the establishment of a Native American conceived, developed, and operated institution of higher education. Several times during the course of this institute we have heard members of the Native American community express their desire to establish an Iroquois community college. This committee recommends that the entire institute go on record as endorsing and lending its support to this endeavor.

DISCUSSION

Arliss Barss: Your mention of developing an Iroquois college reminds me of the talk we had with Lloyd Elm about the Onondaga high school that they are developing. I see an Iroquois college running into the same problems. If the Onondaga school and the concept of the Iroquois college are put into effect, you must come up with some money. Maybe the money can be obtained with no strings attached, but as soon as you have public funds, that door must be open to any student, regardless of race, creed, or color. And I am not too sure that that is the best thing for Indians. We have been together a long time anyway, and we have not done too much in our own educational systems; we do not participate in PTA's, we do not do other things. I do not see the Iroquois community college and Onondaga operating as units interacting with the community.

Lyman Pierce: Maybe it is because of your concept of what an Iroquois community college ought to be. We have not stated what the concept will be. Most community colleges are two year, feeder colleges. We are not talking about a four year institution. We are talking about a two year institution that has many limitation.

Gerry Krzemien: I think the Iroquois community in New York and Canada wants more control over education, and an Iroquois college is possibly one of the avenues that they might want to investigate. It is incumbent upon the community to get together and make a feasibility study. As the roadblocks are put up, it is up to them to find the detours around these roadblocks.

Pierce: The main theme of this paper is continuing education. The college is just one aspect of continuing education. We are talking about all facets of continuing education and we are saying that an Iroquois college could help in this area. All of us need to get involved in all phases of our educational system in America. I do not think that we need to leave the community college or the four year college just to the people that run them now. They need to be more responsive to community needs. And that is the spirit of this report.

Tony Gullo: There is a need for an Iroquois community college. The kinds of questions that you are posing should not stop the exploration of the possibility of establishing such a college. These are the kinds of things that should be taken up in the course of the exploration.

Barss: I do not know if Indian parents want this. I think that sometimes certain sophisticated, educated, assimilated Indians feel that they now know, through their expertise, what is best for the Indian on the reservation. It may be a very good idea, but the people would have to be the ones to accept or reject it.

Gullo: Don't you think that was entailed in our remarks? What good is a community college without the support of the community? By no means were we talking about the establishment of a college without community support. It is the community's college; they are the ones who will establish it, if they desire to do so.

Krzemien: At institutions that Indians presently attend there are serious problems. They run the entire gamut from the social to the academic. What we are suggesting is that an Iroquois community college might be a good interim step in the educational process. This might be a good place for an Indian student to begin his college experience.

Pierce: We think it is a good idea, considering a lot of the problems that are involved in trying to change many higher education institutions to program for Indian people.

Sue Kister: When Lincoln White discussed this idea with our workshop on Native American studies, he spoke of it as analogous to the Empire State College where there was not a multimillion dollar campus or plant, but there might be one or two offices or headquarters with teaching going on at one or two classrooms on many different reservations or urban Indian centers – a college without walls. Certainly that is much more commensurate with the vocational and continuing education concept. You might be able to skirt some of the accusations of discrimination, also.

Pierce: In terms of those peculiar problems that are faced by the Indian community, we need something in the Northeast for resources and development so we can have a clearinghouse, so we can have a place that meets the needs of the Northeast Indian population. That is not to say that it is going to resolve all the problems of every student. But you would have one specific institution that is trying to resolve some of the peculiar problems we have, trying to establish a whole educational content that we have not begun to articulate or write down. It has tremendous possibilities because our people have things in our minds, in our communities, and in our lives that we can share with New York State, the United States, and the world.

Barss: Do you feel that there may be too much programming? I see this as similar to what is happening on the Allegany Reservation. Rather than having the Indian leave the reservation and become assimilated, the white society is moving to the reservation, and there is very little Indianness on Allegany. I am wondering if this is not something that should be carefully looked at. The reservation, the wilderness there may disappear with the introduction of industrial plants, educational programs, economic development, with all these institutionalized organizations. I am wondering if the Indian people want all this. I have heard that some do not.

Krzemien: I do not think anybody in this group is going to program for a reservation unless they are a part of that community. However, I think you would agree, Arliss, in terms of the kind of programs you are sending students through, that there are certain human needs universal to all communities. Surely the Allegany and Tonawanda Senecas would need nurses or people in health services and personnel who can help in the educational areas.

Robert Wells: I had hoped you would go farther and maybe you can answer why you did not; maybe you do not disagree with me. We have 22 community colleges in New York State, 32 including the agricultural and technical colleges. I had hoped, and this is more specific than the generalized approach, that we would charge the community colleges proximate to reservation and urban communities to do the kinds of things that we are trying to grope with in considering an Iroquois community college.

Krzemien: We did not think we could establish a program at any community college, regardless of whether it was close to an urban Indian community or reservation, without first doing some preliminary work which we have outlined in the report – specifically, assessment of needs. I am sure we can deliver and we can insure positions in curriculums such as nursing, if we have a community that has shown a definite need in that respect. But I think we need joint assessment by that community – the college and the Indian groups.

Wells: The Indian community will never come to the community college and currently the community colleges are not reaching out. If we say a joint assessment of needs, there will be no assessment of needs.

All I know is that the eastern part of New York State is doing nothing. I do not want the colleges going to the Indian communities and defining programs for people. The colleges should be available to help define goals as an educational institution and assist the community to meet their goals. None of them are doing a damn thing.

Gullo: I would direct your attention to something that was a surprise to me and some of the other members of the community college that I teach at. At the Cortland meeting last October one of the Tuscarora chiefs addressed the assembly about the rapport that he had developed with Niagara Community College. It was stated by one of the elder chiefs, Elton Green, that for the first time in his recollection an institution of higher education came to them and asked the Tuscaroras what they thought. There are other places, including Niagara Community College, that are developing the interrelationships, that are developing zigzag lines very similar to the zigzag lines that were expressed about St. Lawrence University and the St. Regis Mohawks in the compensatory education workshop.

Pierce: We could probably start a higher education vocational training program in September. We could get some teachers to train Indian students and let them renovate some buildings – on-the-job training. They might have a college before you know it. In other words, do creative thinking. There are many ways to approach this problem. I have talked to Indian people from various communities who are for it. Governmental agencies approve. This is not going to take away from the schools that presently exist. I still see the task of the cluster schools in this area focusing on St. Regis; I still see the cluster of schools around Syracuse trying to develop some liaison with Onondaga or the Syracuse urban community; Rochester schools can work with that community. If we are committed to higher education, we should be committed to many kinds of ways to meet the needs in higher education. Sometimes we stifle ourselves. There are not that many Native Americans in

New York State. If the schools, and this is an indictment on the whole educational system in New York State, were doing their job, we could be the most educated group of Indians (14,000 people is a drop in the bucket to education) in ten years if that is the goal and if every college did its job in the local area.

All the educational institutions in New York State need to have programs that are involved with Native Americans because they have to know about us in order to have solid education. But we are talking about the Native American aspect of the educational system. What kind of ongoing programs will be here ten years from now? We do not know. There might be a cycle in the schools. They may start going out of the Indian business. A fad – we are popular now, but tomorrow we may be forgotten again. Who is to insure the fact that we still continue to develop what I call Indian education? Are the present colleges and universities going to be interested in my thinking, my way of life for the next 100 years?

Barss: Do you see that you are talking about Indian education, and if so, how? What would be offered in this school to identify or to maintain a cultural tie with Indian peoples?

Pierce: I am interested in education – across the board. Indian education has to be one segment of it. I also have to know about America in general; I need to know about Europe; I need to know about the world. At the present time I have to do a lot of research and development in Indian education because it was never programmed for me in the educational institutions in America. So it is incumbent upon me to try to open the doors and to begin to get that into the educational system of America.

Barss: How would an Iroquois community college be different from Erie County Community College? You would take girls in to train them to be nurses, young men to be construction engineers, and as I see it, you have not said that you would offer them anything Indian.

Pierce: There would be an American study, Iroquois study, or whatever. It would be incumbent upon the group that was administering the institution to develop some programs for the various departments. I see that as one aspect. George Abrams pointed out the kinds of things that could be done teaching within an Indian context.

Wells: The community colleges are so concerned with getting two-year matriculating students because of their quota – they have to fill up the seats – that they are not fulfilling their initial purpose and goal which was to serve the community. We need a community college infrastructure which is able to respond to the Indian community or those ethnic communities living in their areas. The colleges should be defining community needs within their goals. They are now merely two-year schools. I have talked to directors of continuing education at various community colleges and their budgets are nothing for continuing education, non-credit skills, basic education, GED, you name it. Unless we put colleges and universities on record that they have got to slice the pie differently, they will not be continuing education or community colleges, they will simply continue to be junior colleges. And that is what they want to be, that is how they see themselves. They want to get out of this business. They do not want to travel out to St. Regis or to get involved with the communities. My point here is that the problem is bigger than Native Americans. It is making community colleges into what they were originally intended to be. And they are not going to serve the Native American community the way that they are going now. I do not think you have been tough enough on them.

Pierce: I have seen two community colleges that were ready and willing to program for the Indian community. But it is just as we have been talking about all along here. You cannot program for them unless they want to be programmed for. There are a lot of politics involved in any kind of work you do in any community situation. I have a positive outlook in this area because I see a lot of things happening in western New York in this respect. If an Indian person can get in the right position and is able to bend one person's ear for a little bit and begin to tell them what they could do, there are ways and means of getting something accomplished. And I have seen it mushroom. Maybe it is because of our psychological clout today – Indians are popular. People, not only in the student body, but crucial people in administration and faculty, are ready and willing to go. I caution them not to go unless the community wants them to. And it needs to be developed from both directions. But there are ways and means of getting this accomplished.

Krzemien: Your appraisal was quite correct, Bob. The institution I was associated with was a technical institute, one of the original schools of applied arts and sciences. For 23 years they saw their role as putting out construction technologists and metallurgists. It is only in the last two years that it has become a community college and the redefinition of its goals are only now beginning to vibrate through the school. The kinds of things that you are looking for are the kinds of rumblings and vibrations that we are beginning to hear on that campus. It may be slow, but it is moving.

Wells: The human and material resources of the community colleges and the fact that they are of the community gives them great potential to respond when called upon. They are so much better equipped to meet the needs of Indian communities or any other community simply by the nature of the organism.

Barss: Not all Indians want an Indian program. The students may want whatever the school is offering, if they have motivation and they are treated well enough. Not everyone wants a four year program. To go in there and "open up a can of worms" and force the administration to start an Indian program is not always necessary. There may be many things in colleges that are really bad news. I do not see it in terms of a political issue but as an educational question. If a student goes in, gets educated, comes out, and is employable, that is all that the school should do for them. They should not get involved in the community thing if the students are not looking for it. Now, maybe the students are asking for it – that would be another situation.

Pierce: I think that is a good point. We need sound assessment. Right now we need more in research and development in New York State regarding not only Indian communities, but the things that are offered in and with the surrounding community. It might be surprising to us, given a total assessment, that things are a little different than what they appear to be. This is why I feel that it is incumbent upon us to get an assessment of Indian education in New York State.

SIPI Assesses Vocational Needs

Job market analysis and individual instruction set SIPI apart

by William E. Vineyard

Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute's (SIPI) basic philosophy is to prepare each individual to enter the world of work with all the technical and communications skills necessary not only to earn a living, but to obtain job satisfaction and promotional opportunity. To achieve the goal of providing vocational education of value to its students, SIPI has surveyed the job market and found those occupational areas in which the demands for labor significantly exceed the supply. With the results of this assessment SIPI has geared its occupational curriculum to meet those actual job market demands.

Student Needs First

SIPI opened its doors to serve the Native American community in September 1971. The BIA vocational education school serves the student by individualizing the total instructional setting. In fact, SIPI virtually abandons the standard educational formalities:

SIPI is open 12 months a year; a student may enter on any day. There is no specified length of time to complete the course outside of what the student, his teacher coordinator, and his occupational counselor establish according to the student's abilities and aspirations. It is a fact that some individuals learn faster than others and that some will wish to reach a higher occupational competency than others. With this in mind, SIPI has developed the ladder concept based upon the idea that a student may attain the desired skills for occupational competency at a particular level, get off the ladder, and go to work. At a later date the student may desire to re-enter and continue climbing the skills ladder. It is, however, earnestly desired by the instructional and administrative staff that a student complete the total program and step off into the world of work at the top of the skills level. Most programs of study are designed for a maximum of 20 months. But the actual duration of training is determined by how fast and how high up the occupational ladder the student chooses to go and his need or desire for income-producing, cooperative on-the-job training that can be scheduled for alternating daily, weekly, monthly, or three month periods.

SIPI practices a totally open enrollment policy. The only entrance requirement is that the prospective student be "finished" with high school; that is, the student has no intention of returning to a secondary school regardless of what grade level the student completed, be it fourth or twelfth. There is no screening process at SIPI. SIPI accepts all candidates and gives them a chance without discriminating against those with a "bad social history."

Efficient Transition to the World of Work

SIPI can rely on an extensive job market analysis to assist the student in setting his goals according to his personal choice of vocation, geographical living area, etc. Currently the job market's most urgent needs are in such areas as secretarial/clerical, offset lithography, optical technology, drafting, engineering aides, telecommunications, electronics, and commercial food preparation. Since flexibility is the byword of SIPI, if it is found that the 1972-73 job market demands have changed (e.g., small appliance repairmen are in constant demand and short supply), SIPI will incorporate the new occupational areas into its curriculum. Unlike other vocational training centers, SIPI does not try to sell a specific occupation to its consumers; the school tries to provide a curriculum which will pay a return of a job on the student's investment of time.

At SIPI only the most modern equipment and latest technology are used in instruction. Many models and brands are available to train the students for placement almost anywhere in their field. Each teacher coordinator and supervisor within the occupational areas has had practical experience within his specific and related fields of competency. In setting up programs, ordering equipment, arranging the processes to be followed, etc., each instructor has made use of the same types of tools and equipment currently in use. This provides work experiences very similar to those found in industry and business. The pseudo or contrived work exercises are not an acceptable substitute for "live work" experiences. It is incumbent upon each member of the instructional staff, particularly in supportive education (communications and job adjustment), to define their curriculum so that each training day and instructional period mirrors the world of work as closely as possible. Men from industry and business fields are on the SIPI advisory board to guide the faculty. The idea of SIPI is that when a student is placed on the job, an absolute minimum adjustment will be necessary for his or her efficient

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transition into the world of work.

Complete Supportive Services

SIPI provides complete occupational, supportive, remedial, and counseling services to each individual as his needs require them. It is the responsibility of each professional member of the counseling team to be aware of the various problems and progress of each individual student. The team will assist each student to utilize the resources available to him in determining his goals. Each counselor will explore, select, and evaluate with the student his present program of study and realistic occupational goals for the future.

A counselor is assigned to each of the work areas of the instructional shop as an integral part of that occupational team. The student need not feel that he has to seek out his counselor. The counselor will not be confined to the traditional office, but will be an "on his feet, on the spot" working member of that team. Each counselor, besides having full counseling credentials, is experienced in the occupational field in which he is counseling. As a participant in the learning process, a counselor will be observing and interacting in the instruction and on-the-job training of students.

The counselor will encourage and promote the philosophy that each student must ultimately be responsible for his or her own actions in coping, and he will assist the student in becoming aware of those responsibilities. The counselor is a non-disciplinary person. From the initial contact with the student and throughout the total program including occupational training, supportive education, on-the-job training, and finally job placement, the counselor will be a helping person.

The student is not the sole responsibility of any one staff member. He or she will come in contact with instructors within occupational areas, job adjustment, communications, physical education and health, guidance counselors, and in most cases with dormitory personnel. In the event that a student is not performing satisfactorily in the area or is having adjustment difficulties, and if the problems cannot be resolved between the student and the instructor or counselor, then the entire team is brought together to discuss ways of assisting the student.

At SIPI there is an open-door policy. At no time will a student be turned away or denied a conference with a member of the instructional staff, guidance counselors, or dormitory personnel. This school was conceived with the idea that the better the interpersonal relationships between the students and staff, the more enriched and relevant the learning situation becomes.

There are no grades at SIPI; each student works at his own rate. He is not measured against anyone else or any other standard. Only the individual student's progress is recorded. With the threat of the traditional "A-F" grading system eliminated, coupled with the fact that each student is allowed and encouraged to proceed at his or her own pace, each individual will be able to succeed, not by some predetermined grading scale, but by actually seeing a progression of skills and techniques develop. The staff of SIPI is not interested in what the student failed to do in the past, but only what he or she is able to accomplish in the future.

There are few rigid rules concerning student behavior on the SIPI campus. The concept of "freedom with responsibility" gives the students a chance to develop their own meaningful set of guidelines for conduct. Treat students as resourceful, intelligent, mature adults, and they will act accordingly is the SIPI philosophy.

SIPI Profile

Average daily attendance at the BIA school is 550. Eighty students have already graduated and are employed while 60 more students are presently in cooperative programs. Three hundred students have left SIPI without completing their training. Seventy-eight tribes are represented at the school, with Navajos and Rio Grande Pueblos each comprising a third of the enrollment and the other 76 tribes making up the final third. The median age is 21 years and one month.

As a BIA school, room, board, and tuition are free to all Indian students who attend SIPI. For those students with dependents, BIA employment assistance, U.S. Veteran's Benefits, and tribal scholarships may provide for extra living expenses.

Fifty percent of the administrators and instructional staff are Native American. The counseling staff is also composed of half Native Americans. The secretaries, housing staff, and teacher aides are all Native Americans. The curriculum offers one course in contemporary Indian problems.

Issues in Vocational Education

The propriety of vocational education for the Native American student is a controversial issue in Indian education today. Because of the historical pattern of limiting him to trade schools, the Native American justifyably resents being tracked into vocational education. The Native American objects to the implication that he is not capable of pursuing a more academic education and he believes that vocational education is a stereotype which limits his advancement. The entire American society has been caught up in the college fever in recent years which was characterized by the idea that all "worthy" persons went to college because it was a sure step to the good job. Those not able to "cut it" were left to take up an inferior trade. Things have changed, however. People have recognized that it is unrealistic to expect everyone to obtain or even desire a baccalaureate degree, and the trades have gained respect for the skills which they contribute to society. Surveys forecast that throughout the 1970's and into the 80's, 70 to 80% of all jobs will not require a college degree. Tribal groups are now demanding an ever increasing number of skilled craftsmen to complete their projects. The Navajo, for example, will employ all the skilled graduates SIPI can produce. With the planned expansion and SIPI's flexibility, the school can program to meet the particular demands of a trade, industry, or even a specific company. SIPI has agreements with various employers to train students for jobs which the trainees will fill directly after graduation. No one graduates from SIPI who will not be in high demand in some part of the country.

Many trade unions prefer that new workers be trained in their apprenticeship programs. This sometimes hinders the placement of vocational school graduates. SIPI has embarked on a policy of getting the unions involved in education and through cooperative on-the-job training the school has been able to reach an agreement with most unions which is satisfactory to all. Discrimination against the Indian people still does exist to some extent in vocational and business fields. This is diminishing, however, particularly as companies scramble to meet federal minority hiring standards.

Indian High School Comes to Life at Onondaga

A proposal for a separate Indian school is a living thing among the Onondaga people as they resist educational genocide

by Lloyd Elm

At Onondaga we are involved in an educational movement to become self-determining. We want to make sure that the community has a voice in the type of curriculum that is going to be presented to our children in the public school systems; we want to make sure that the *Ongwehonwe* way of life is revitalized among the *Hodenosaunee*. Many of the other nations within the Iroquois Confederacy who are seeking the same educational changes are waiting to see how the state of New York reacts to the Onondaga Nation's proposal for our separate school for grades K-12. The other nations are looking to the Onondagas to see how we design our program. My purpose today is to give you a brief insight into this design. I am going to attempt to recapture the history of our contemporary movement to self-determine our own history.

Successful Education?

Three years ago I made the decision to venture back to the Lafayette High School which is adjacent to the Onondaga Reservation. I believed that things were really good for the *Ongwehonwe*, that the education system was fulfilling and improving itself to a degree where several of our people had gone to Syracuse University. Several more people had gone to various colleges and universities throughout the state. It appeared, superficially, that the *Hodenosaunee* were at last beginning to enjoy the success that comes with education.

At that time the Onondaga people had been at Lafayette for 16 years. For 16 years the student body at Lafayette Central High School represented a bicultural student body; like it did at Salmon River where the Mohawks go; like it did at Niagara Wheatfield where the Tuscaroras go; like it did at Gowanda and Silver Creek where the Senecas go or at Akron where the Tonawanda Senecas go. The student body at Lafayette represents a bicultural situation. And it should represent a bilingual situation also. But it did not. What I found was that after 16 years not one study had been instituted that was relevant to Onondaga or *Hodenosaunee* history. The educational design was conceived in the middle '30's and it would only sufficiently educate (and now it does not even do that) the middle-class, white Anglo-Saxon. I wondered, how can these people be succeeding?

I teach biology and physics. I had 85 students that first year. Fifty-five of them were Regents students – they take the New York State Regents Exam. In that group there was one Onondaga girl. One. Of the remaining 30 students – who were all tracked into the "slower" non-Regents group because standardized tests had "proven" them incapable of competing in the Regents track – 16 were from the Onondaga Reservation. I thought something was wrong because they possessed the ability to be in a Regents course. But by the time they reached the ninth grade, they were tracked into a non-Regents track.

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Educational Genocide

I tried to study how many of the people from the Onondaga Reservation actually experience success when they integrate with the white school system at the seventh grade level. I went 10 years back in the records of the Onondaga Reservation Indian school which is kindergarten through the sixth grade. I got a list of the graduating classes, and six years later those students should have graduated from Lafayette. Whether they graduated with the Regents diploma or the non-Regents diploma was not important to me at that time. I began to do a dropout study. When the authorities found I was doing this, the chief administrator told me not to make that study because it had already been made. I asked, "What is the dropout rate?" He said, "We lose about 30% of the students." That did not seem right to me because I looked back on my own situation and I remember graduating from the Onondaga Indian school with 16 other students, and three of us finished high school from that elementary graduating class. I thought if that 30% is right, things are much better than they were when I graduated.

With the aid of some students who were in high school and with some students who had graduated from Lafayette, I went through the list, person by person. We established that, regardless of the cause, 51% of the Onondaga students over the last ten years did not graduate from high school. A very gradual genocide of a people. That astounded me. I reported the figure that I established to the Onondaga Council of Chiefs. I told them that for 16 years Lafayette Central High School – I am talking in terms of the Onondaga Nation so I talk in terms of Lafayette Central, but it could be any district – has not responded to the educational needs of the *Ongwehonwe*.

We had to make our voice heard in Albany at the State Education Department. We could not get through to the bureaucrats. We did not even know who to talk to in Albany. We decided that the only way we were going to get them to listen to us on our ground for the first time in history was to hold our children out of that school district. We decided with our 280 students who are in the district to boycott Lafayette Central High School.

In a three-way telephone conversation between the State Education Department officials represented by Dr. Thomas Sheldon and Dr. Aumbach, the principal of the Lafayette School, Mr. Robert Shay, and myself, I made it plain that the Onondaga students would not report to school until one of the state officials came to the Onondaga Longhouse so we could give them our list of grievances concerning the State Education Department and the Lafayette school district. Dr. Sheldon said he would come to Onondaga to meet with the chiefs. If you are *Ongwehonwe* or some other ethnic minority, you know that among the power structure there are few who will tell you the truth. They will put you off, or they will give you a few tokens and hope that you do not come back. True to his word, however, Dr. Sheldon and two staff members came to the Onondaga Longhouse on Monday.

We listed twelve grievances, primarily within the education system. We reminded them that the state of New York was in the process of redesigning the entire education system itself. We made them aware that the educational system of the educators in New York State was not what it should be relative to minority groups, specifically to the *Hodenosaunee*. All of the grievances were accepted.

High School Feasible

In June 1971 we presented our written proposal for a separate high school. During that summer we did a feasibility study. In October we met again with Dr. Sheldon and eight of his staff members at Onondaga. From that meeting came this statement: "The New York State Education Department deems that your proposal for a separate high school at Onondaga is within the realm of feasibility." Now I do not know what that means – "within the realm of feasibility" – but it sounded pretty good. But the reason it is within the realm of feasibility right now, I am sure, is because within our proposal we instituted some of the same philosophy that you were trying to generate here this morning. The philosophy of the school includes the philosophy of the *Ongwehonwe*, of the Onondaga, of the people.

Of course, it takes money. If you want to hurt white men in the worst way, you hit them in the pocketbook because everything is in terms of money. How much is it going to cost? How much is the taxpayer going to have to increase his payments? How much hell will the politicians and bureaucrats catch when that five dollars more is added per thousand? They are thinking in terms of money.

And yet when we negotiated with New York State, they were in a difficult position because the proposal we presented was sound educationally. The fundamentals within that proposal reflected a design that was going to create something that was above the standard for a high school in New York State. That is not a very difficult thing to do really – you just have to give something a little different and it will be above the average in New York State. The people in Albany recognized that we were offering them an opportunity to create something that would reflect their true interest and sincere desire to educate and aid the *Hodenosaunee*.

State Position Paper

They decided to write a position paper on Indian education. "We'll bring in our experts," they said, "and we will have them input into this position paper. This position paper will design an accomodation with the Onondaga Nation, and in time, undoubtedly, all of the members of the Iroquois Confederation." The work on the position paper began. Immediately the Onondaga Council of Chiefs notified Albany: "If we can be of any help in writing or contributing to this position paper, all you have to do is call." I telephoned that message personally over a year and a half ago. I have never heard one word from Albany. Instead all the people began to wonder: what are they going to write in this position paper? Is the state designing something that will be of benefit to *Ongwehonwe* education? We did not know because there was no input. Their experts were doing all the inputing.

The State Education Department called a conference at Cortland State Teachers College. They invited all of the key grassroots people from New York to come there and have input into the position paper. They had been working on this position paper for a little over a year, and they were going to give the Six Nations Confederation two and a half hours to input into that paper which will eventually establish the guidelines for *Ongwehonwe* education in New York State. I

Lloyd Elm

could see the Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas going there and arguing about who was to talk first.

But we are not totally naive. We planned some strategy. Everything was arranged. For the first time there was not any non-Indian input into these strategy meetings. We decided who was going to talk first, who was going to take the microphone, who would take the floor, who would call on certain people to make sure it was orderly. We predesigned what we were going to present.

After the conference at Cortland this spring there were many recommendations made. The final position paper, which was due to be presented to the Board of Regents in May, was postponed. Hopefully, there is going to be another conference before the paper is finalized so that there can be more input into it.

What of the design of the Onondaga school? What is going to make this high school different? We have thirty-five items that are going to be part of this redesigned, flexible curriculum. Let me begin with one concept.

The *Hodenosaunee* people are positive that each individual at birth has a very special talent given to him by the Creator. This talent is to be utilized to make life here on earth much better for the people. These talents are varied. Some might be in the form of artistry; it might be an oratory talent; it might be a technological talent. But each individual has got a design, has got a purpose, has got a function in life, a function within the Creation here on earth. The public education system is designed so that many times these talents are never discovered or motivated. They are never brought to be. They are never cultivated to where an individual can use his talents so he can make his contributions to the Creation. With this in mind, we began to design a curriculum that would allow us to have an accredited high school, that would allow us to introduce into the curriculum some of the things that the educational system has erased.

Modern Science the Indian Way

Let me give you one example of what I teach at Lafayette Central High School. In a very moderate way right now, there is a certain place in our curriculum where the study of biology refers to the concept of common ancestry of all Creation. When you mention it to some people it is difficult for them to realize that they are in some way related through Creation to a tree, or to a grass, or to all living things. But within this new school at the Onondaga Reservation we will bring one of the old people in and he will tell the young people, "That tree is your brother. We should give thanks as often as we possibly can for that tree, because if it were not for that tree and its design from the Creator, we would die." He could continue with this line of truth and teach those children. At the same time the curriculum will include logical thinking. In turn, the students will come to me and they will say, "Why is that tree my brother?" Then we can look at the biochemical similarities between all living things. We can begin to study DNA, and I can show them structures that are common to all living things. In order for all these things to come about, there had to be a common ancestor, a Creation that made everything related in life, a Creation with a very special design that would create a rapport among all living things of Mother Earth. This is just one aspect of the design.

This has impact on young people today when you tell them that they are related and that they depend upon the grass and the trees. You can back this with the modern technology of genetics, the modern theories of evolution, and you supplement it. This is part of your educational system. But how many of you were taught that your life totally depends on the green world? How many of you were taught that a tree is your brother? That his life depends on yours, and that he has every right to live as you have because this is the way that the Creation was put together? Or how many of your ethnic cultures dictate that to you as a standard to guide your living? Right now the dominant, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon society has its concepts of its relationship with Mother Earth. It is beyond me how they ever got here right now. The sad part about it is that if your people continue the way they are, you are going to become extinct. And I will be damned if you are going to take me with you. So I have got to teach you something. I have got to teach you the way the *Ongwehonwe* lived and thought relative to Mother Earth prior to the coming of any European influence to the *Hodenosaunee*.

When I talk about going back to the Indian way, I am not talking about going back and building a bark house and no longer driving an automobile, or no longer having a desire to go out on the golf course. I am talking about thought patterns that will stop the industry, the technology, from covering Mother Earth with cement and with tar; that will stop the people from taking life for sport unnecessarily.

You are here to try to find out what you can institute in educational systems, what programs you can develop, to help educate the *Ongwehonwe*. Last year I mentioned those signs of social disorganization that are seen on reservations and

Institute participants meeting with the North American Indian Club of Syracuse.

within the urban Indian communities – the facts that our dropout rate is high, our suicide rate is high, and that on the reservation the people live on the threshold of poverty. But to me those are not problems, those are symptons – symptons of a disease called ego, a disease called greed, a disease called "our way is the only way," a disease called claustrophobia. If you people could only realize that when there are forces like the public education system which subconsciously attempt to terminate the *Ongwehonwe* way of life, that you are also terminating yourself.

At Onondaga we are going to change this. I am going to live to see the day at Onondaga when within the school curriculum there is going to be a language program that is strong enough to revitalize the language among our young people. I am going to see a program that is going to be taught by the people themselves, not by the graduates of St. Lawrence, Dartmouth, Cortland, or Syracuse, but by the old people. Then maybe in some way with my education I might be able to supplement that.

Do not ask, "Are the Onondaga going to get their high school?" In time we are going to get that high school at Onondaga regardless of the pressures we are fighting against separatism. We are going to have that high school. I know that because it is a living thing among the Onondaga people.

It is a matter of survival for everyone. This is why we come together, this is why we come to a conference like this, because we try to understand, we try to share with each other what we have in spite of the differences. Behind it is a brotherhood of love because we are all human beings. In spite of the ego and the greed that has infested our society there is this need to survive.

I have given you a little insight as to what is happening within the Onondaga community relative to education. We have come here, we have been together, and you have listened to me talk. I think that it is imperative that in our own way we give thanks to the Creator for this opportunity to sit in this one room, for the life that is around us and for our life, for the opportunity to change things and to make them right. I think we should bring ourselves as one mind so that we might acknowledge and give thanks to the Creator for what we have on this one day. And we say *Daneho* – I am through.

DISCUSSION

Steve Adolphus: Many of the people who want to effect changes in public schools in this state run into the problem of the Education Department's attitude about certification. How does your proposal for the new school handle that problem? Do you propose to live with that system as best you can?

Elm: Of course, for me to be certified to teach biology, it would have to be through the system. But we want to develop people, who will be taught by the old people, to teach culture. A certificate of that type means that a person is certified to teach the Onondaga language or the Mohawk language or whatever culture part they might want to teach. The only group to award this certificate will be the Onondaga Council of Chiefs. If people who come to this school want to teach Onondaga culture, they will have to live within the culture and with the traditional people. When the traditional people think they are qualified, then they will be certified to teach Onondaga history.

Larry Lazore: Lloyd, at Onondaga you propose that these paraprofessionals you bring into the school system be sanctioned and approved by the Council of Chiefs at Onondaga. That is in respect to the Onondaga school system. At St. Regis *Ongwehonwe* paraprofessionals would be sanctioned by the St. Regis Mohawks. Because we are different in certain ways, although we still have one common bond.

Elm: That's right. But Larry, you use a term – paraprofessional – that is not going to be a part of the vocabulary in this school system. Paraprofessional means someone who is not quite as educated as I am. These people who are teaching the language now, they would have a doctorate in the philosophy of culture if there was such a thing. They are paraprofessionals by the design of the system that we are forced into. I have got that stupid sheepskin from Syracuse University which makes me a professional when I have to go to my clanmother who is 76 years old and have her teach me how to speak in Onondaga so I will not be stupid. I am not going to classify that lady as a paraprofessional. She has expertise. She has a doctorate in Onondaga.

Jim Garrett: That comment is very integral to the whole concept of education in this society because it shows how frivolous the society has become in terms of education. The credential orientation in general gives sanction to teach when we know that many of those so-called "educated," credentialized individuals are ignorant of the things most necessary for the communities we represent. In terms of sending students from the Onondaga Reservation to particular institutions, how do you prevent them from being caught up in that? Maybe you have already prevented it because of cultural reinforcement within the community. But if the students come back to the reservation with an acculturated value orientation, they can probably do more harm than the white man in a shorter period of time.

Elm: We have thought in terms of that: once we take them through the secondary level, what are we going to do with them? What we will do is study the programs that have been started at Dartmouth, Arizona, and other places where they have good Native American studies centers. Then we will recommend to our students that if they want to continue to learn the Indian way, they should go to certain recommended places. The guidance office will tell them they can become ace physicists or ace engineers and still continue with their Indian way if they go to these particular places. You tell them not to go to certain schools because their design is a design of racism. The guidance people will act like a clearinghouse. We will have investigated the different opportunities and programs available in education to guide the students.

One of our sincere concerns with our schools is the fact that we are going to separate, in a sense, our students from the culture that they are going to have to confront to succeed. How do we plan to compensate for this? We will develop a strong cultural exchange program. One of the requirements to graduate from the Onondaga high school is that sometime during a student's four year high school career he will have to go for one semester into a non-Indian school district.

Arliss Barss: Other than the exchange of students for a semester or a year, will the school at Onondaga be open to both Indian and non-Indian people?

Elm: Yes. Except, of course, within the design we have priorities. First of all, we will take care of the Onondaga on the reservation and in Syracuse. Those we take care of secondly will be all the people of the *Hodenosaunee* in the Syracuse area. Then we go to other reservations. Then, if there is room left (which I know there is not going to be because we have people that are asking to enroll now and the school is not up), there will be open enrollment. It is a public school so it has to be. Like any school district, however, we will determine who goes to the school and who pays tuition. There is no question that there is going to be a certain percentage of spots for Anglos and Chicanos and blacks if they choose to come. We have to have these people. They are part of our education. We have to study them.

Vance Frazier: In Arizona we already have many all-Indian schools which are administered by the biggest school system in the country – the BIA. Suppose by some stroke of fortune you were asked to write a set of proposals for the future of the BIA. What would you recommend?

Elm: Without giving it much thought, I will say that in 1854 there was an Indian Preference Act passed by the Congress of the United States. The Indian Preference Act means that within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, specifically, they should hire Indian people. Just this past year I was at the Indian convention in Atlantic City. The BIA people were there. Seven percent of all the educators within the BIA are *Ongwehonwe*. The rest of them are not *Ongwehonwe*. If that Indian Preference Act could be implemented within the BIA, in time it would correct itself. Attempts have been made to implement the Act at the BIA level. The present commissioner, Louis Bruce, began to implement that Act. He placed *Ongwehonwe* in strategic points within the Bureau. In a short time programs were being created that would delegate self-determination to various *Ongwehonwe* groups across the United States. As soon as the Department of Interior saw what was happening, a deputy commissioner post was created. All of these programs were circumvented. Those key people who were in the BIA positions have left. Each time that this Indian Preference Act begins to be implemented, they stop it. The philosophy of the BIA is not for the betterment of the Indian people, it is for the continuation of the Department of the Interior. The BIA is merely a tag that they gave to this one group of people. It is a matter of control.

Jim Scannell: For those of us who represent institutions that presently do not have Indian programs, and the reality of the situation is that at least in the near future we will not have a large-scale Indian program of the quality that you have been addressing yourself to, are you telling us that we would be doing a disservice to accept and educate your children?

Elm: If you are using the design that is prevailing now in society, yes. There is a small college down in the Mohawk Valley. The man in charge of the history department was told the same thing I just told you. He said, "How do I begin? We want to fulfill, in our own way, our responsibility to the first Americans." I told him that in the very first semester when the school brought first American students there, he should invite some of their people for a one day workshop two or three times a year. My own personal feeling is that you would be doing a disservice to the overall number of *Ongwehonwe* if you asked them to come because they would fail. There are exceptions that you can find. You can find a person who can go any place and be comfortable there. It is like taking one of you randomly and placing you 100 miles from anywhere in the Adirondack Mountains. How long would you survive? Do you know enough? In turn, how can you expect to take a person from a culture like the Onondaga Reservation, or any reservation, and place them right in the middle of a large university or right in the middle of Chicago and expect them to survive normally?

Scannell: Does that mean that for an Indian who has not lived on a reservation, not grown up on a reservation, an institution such as the one I represent might be on a little safer ground to educate him?

Elm: Yes, I would say that would be true in general.

Stu Tonemah: You mentioned having workshops with the elders coming in and talking. We tried that, too, but it still has not worked because the attitude and commitment of the various colleges and universities is lacking. They could really give a damn. They have their Indians, and they have someone to handle the program. But you have to get the total commitment from the institutions that are represented or else it is not going to work. You could bring in Louis Bruce every day for a week and nothing is going to happen. We invited Dennis Banks, Ernie Stevens, Bob Burnette, Floyd Western, and Paul Ortega, people big in the Indian world, and the non-Indian community just did not turn out to see these speakers. When people lay it on and tell it like it is, the public does not want to hear it.

Elm: You are absolutely right. But it is like anything else, you have got to continue to say that. They will get the message in time.

Elizabeth Duran: That was the point I was trying to make earlier. You have self-esteem. Various effronts are not disturbing to you in the least. But it is the elementary school students whose self-esteem needs to be reinforced.

Elm: Elementary education is the key. It is almost sad to say that some of the students who now have reached me are almost unreturnable. They have come to a point where alcohol has played a toll. The place to rebuild is at the elementary level. And even at that young age it is going to take something beyond what I have to bring those young people back to being part of society – *either* society – because of the effects that the system has had on them. You are right, the key to developing this self-esteem, this identity, is beginning at the elementary level.

We have a program in K-6 at Onondaga where we teach language and introduce some culture. We are now developing some reading materials within our elementary school that will be relevant. We had to take the raw materials and redesign them. For example, you ask the second grader, "Who would you rather learn about, Handsome Lake or General Custer?" Actually they are both important because if you understand General Custer, you understand an important part of history. Or you ask, "We are going to study some contemporary great men. Would you like to study George Thomas, a recent *Tadodaho*, or would you rather study William Fenton?" They are both very important men for the Indian person to study. But at least give them a choice at the elementary level where there now is no choice. Who do they study? They study George Washington. They read about Daniel Boone the great Indian fighter.

Duran: To what extent would the Iroquois ultimately, if they were to carry out a dream, press the issue of sovereignty? Would they ultimately desire a sovereign state, although small like Monaco, or would it be a state within the United States?

Elm: From my point of view there is no question of sovereignty. We are sovereign. No question at all. We have treaties that delegate to us the sovereignty of a nation. At Onondaga, which is the only thing I would prefer to talk about now, when a person crosses the edge of the reservation, New York State jurisdiction ends. The great laws that governed this land long before the white man came still govern the Onondaga Reservation. Of course, because of the situation today, there has to be a working system there. But the land itself is sovereign – established by treaty, established by court decisions, established by the fact that Route 81 was not widened last year. When you talk about sovereignty, you talk in terms of creating a state. It is not a matter of creating it, it is a matter of acknowledging what is already there; that is land that belongs to Onondaga. It is a difficult thing for the Empire State to say, "We are the Empire State, but this little 7,500 acres is not New York State; it is Onondaga territory." But among the Onondagas there is no question at all.

International law is the key to our sovereignty. We have treaties that delegate land to us as a sovereign nation. Anything that went beyond those treaties was a one-sided agreement. There are hundreds of these among the *Hodenosaunee* where the state of New York or the federal government has made a treaty by themselves. There were no *Ongwehonwe* there, no sachems present. And yet the governments carry out those laws. International law says that that is wrong because of the original treaty we have with the federal government establishing the sovereignty of the Iroquois Six Nations.

The legal status of *Ongwehonwe* across the United States varies especially through a combination of two things: the wars that the people experienced and the treaties that they originally formed, and second, the contemporary state and federal laws. The status of all *Ongwehonwe* groups is different. That is why there is no such thing as a monolithic term "Indian."

Lazore: As you say, the answer is international recognition. And international recognition has been there. Deskaheh, a Cayuaga, went to the League of Nations. He had the support of all members of the League except England and the United States to be heard as a representative of the *Hodenosaunee*. Rickard went to the United Nations in 1949 and spoke as a recognized spokesman of an independent, sovereign people – the *Hodenosaunee*. It has been recognized but it stops. It is just like the Supreme Court decision involving the Cherokees. In the Cherokees *v.* the State of Georgia, the Supreme Court said the Cherokees were a sovereign nation. But the government told the Court, "Go ahead, enforce it." The decision is there that Indian nations are sovereign.

Elm: The first group of Europeans that made contact with the *Hodenosaunee* were the Dutch people. There were written land agreements made. At that time, the sachems who agreed to these things could not read English. So they recorded these agreements in a different way – the wampum belt. Among the *Hodenosaunee* that wampum belt is referred to as the "two-row wampum." This two-row wampum dictates to the Dutch and to the *Hodenosaunee* governments that one of the two parallel rows would represent the way of life and the government of the Dutch, and the other parallel row would represent the way of life and the government of the *Hodenosaunee*. They could run side by side, but they would never meet. One should never try to influence the other one. That was part of the original agreement made with the Dutch people; renewed with the French, renewed with the colonies, and renewed with the Continental Congress. This is part of the agreement that the power structure will not acknowledge. The reason they will not acknowledge it is because they have been violating it for 400 years.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

19th Century Indian Education Programs

Some present day critics would charge that the policies have changed little in 100 years

by William T. Hagan

The Bureau of Indian Affairs today administers a school system that includes nearly 250 schools, providing education for over 50,000 students, about half of them in boarding schools.

The origins of the system lie in the 19th century. Indeed, critics of the system argue that its broad objectives have changed little in a hundred years. The education programs that evolved a century ago reflected what was then believed by white officials to be the educational needs of the native population. But more than that, the education programs were a natural by-product of white reaction to the contact of the two races.

Relations between the Indians and the government in the 19th century fit neatly into three time periods. The first is a continuation of the post-Revolution period extending through the War of 1812 and the acquisition of Florida. The second takes the story through the Civil War, and the third covers the last 35 years of the 19th century.

During the first period, that from the Revolution through the acquisition of Florida, the United States government had to assert its authority over Indian affairs in the face of state claims and foreign intervention. The Articles of Confederation had assigned control of Indian affairs to Congress, and the Constitution in 1789 did the same. The only exceptions involved those Indians, like the Six Nations of New York, who were residing on land under state sovereignty when the Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation.

From 1783 until 1819, foreign intervention was an ever present possibility. The formulation of American Indian policy had to consider the necessity of countering English and Spanish influence. It was also to the interest of both countries

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to maintain good relations with the tribes on their borders should they go to war with the United States.

All this was changed by events from 1803 to 1819. The United States purchased Louisiana and Florida and fought the War of 1812. English interest in cultivating good relations with the tribes south of Canada diminished rapidly as the United States gave up its ambition to seize Canada.

Indian Removal Program

The principle innovation in Indian policy in the post-War of 1812 era was the Indian removal program. The primary purpose of the removal program was to clear the states and territories east of the Mississippi of their Indian population to facilitate white settlement of these lands. It was argued that once located west of the Mississippi and segregated for a generation by a line of army posts, the Indians could have introduced among them missionaries and teachers who, in that generation, would equip the Indians to blend with the general population.

President Thomas Jefferson was one of the early architects of the removal policy. While certain that Indians were different than whites, he was convinced that their ultimate destiny was to mix with, and be absorbed by, the greater white population. Throughout the 19th century the government operated on the assumption that the Indian could be assimilated. There may have been skeptics among the general population, particularly among those in close contact with the tribes, but the official line never varied.

The civilization programs – it was a civilizing process from the white viewpoint although Indians today may properly resent this terminology – emphasized agriculture, private property, Christianity, and education. As the last, education, is our principal concern, let us look at it more closely.

Prior to 1819 very little had been done, even if the term education is broadly defined to include training in agriculture. What little was done was supported from two sources: first, a few thousand dollars a year available to the President to spend on clothing, livestock, or almost any other necessity for the Indians with some small amounts going to education; second, church groups did some educational work among the Indians.

For all intents and purposes, there were no education programs for the Indians during this first period. Here and there a missionary might be found who also instructed a few Indian children in the three R's, but there certainly was no coherent government plan in operation. Not that we should be surprised at this. Even among the white population, public supported education was still some years in the future.

The Great Awakening

The breakthrough came in the period after the War of 1812. The religious movement of the early 19th century known as the Great Awakening stimulated missionary activity and a greater concern for the depressed elements in American society. Indians "profited" from this concern. The removal program itself produced a number of treaties by which the Indians sold land to the United States, and these treaties sometimes made specific provisions for education.

Congressmen reflected the views of their constituents when in 1818 a Congressional committee which had been studying the Indian question reported:

> In the present state of our country, one of two things seems to be necessary, either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated. Humanity would rejoice at the former, but shrink with horror at the latter. Put into the hands of their children, the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plow.

The following year, 1819, Congress appropriated $10,000 "For the purpose of providing against the further decline of the Indian tribes . . . and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization." From the Civilization Fund, as it came to be known after Congress began appropriating $10,000 annually for the purpose, the President could draw money to hire teachers and maintain schools, but as the government had no machinery for operating schools, the decision was made to use the fund to subsidize church groups to do the work.

By 1825, 38 church schools were being aided. But the distribution among the tribes was very uneven. One tribe might have several schools, perhaps due to its willingness to cooperate with missionaries, among other factors; many tribes had none. Included here are only those tribes on the frontier. Tribes further west had little or no contact at all.

An analysis of the source of the funds to operate the schools in 1825 illustrates the relative importance of the contributions by church groups, the tribes, and the government. Of slightly over $200,000 spent on schools in 1825, in rough percentages, 7% came from the government, 6% from the tribes, and the rest, 87%, from the churches. As late as the Civil War, the United States was still putting in only the $10,000 a year from the Civilization Fund. The church and tribal contributions had grown considerably. The tribal contribution increased because of the treaties of cession containing clauses providing for some educational benefits for the Indians. But these were not gifts by the government, rather they were part of the purchase price of the land.

By 1865 there were over 100 schools in operation. It is difficult to measure their effectiveness. The instruction was usually in English, and as most of the students came to school with only the most rudimentary grasp of that language, much of their work must have been sheer memorization without any comprehension. In the mission schools, as was to be expected, religious instruction was an important part of the curriculum. The Bible and catechism were used as texts, and prayers and hymn singing could be heard throughout the day. The memorizing of Bible verses was a favorite assignment and star pupils could regurgitate hundreds.

Even as new textbooks replaced the Bible, moral themes continued to predominate. This, of course, was the pattern in white as well as Indian schools. The primer prepared for the Osage school by one missionary group included a section entitled "Moral Lessons for the Children," selections from the Scriptures, and the Ten Commandments. The section on moral lessons included such cheerful items as, "People without the Scriptures are in darkness." Among the first complete sentences were ones emphasizing the concept of private property and the virtues of log cabins with stone chimneys.

Boarding School and the Returned Student

The emphasis gradually shifted from the mission day school to the manual labor boarding school which, while located within the tribal area, would provide the child with continuous exposure to a different environment. Attendance at the typical day school had been very poor, the children drifting in all during the morning, leaving early in the afternoon, and likely to be absent for weeks at a time accompanying their parents as they left the villages on hunting expeditions or just went visiting.

But while the boarding school solved the problem of attendance, it produced the problem of the "returned student" – the child who rejoined his people but was unable to employ his education. In 1845 a commissioner of Indian Affairs described his plight: "He is viewed as unfitted for the chase, and is condemned and ridiculed by his fellows . . . Thus left without associates . . . he seeks the haunts of the depraved white men . . ."

The problem of the returned student, the relative merits of day schools and boarding schools, the necessity for vocational education, all of these would be discussed interminably by officials in the last thirty-five years of the 19th century.

By 1865 American miners, railroad workers, and settlers were invading the last strongholds of the aboriginal population. United States policy was first to clear the tribes from a central belt across the plains that would carry the new transcontinental railroad and the emigrant trails. The next step was to locate the tribes on reservations, initially very large reservations, which would then be gradually reduced in size as the Indians were converted from hunters into farmers and stockraisers. Ultimately, the Indian would be located on a farm similar in acreage to the white settler's. Then as the reservation disappeared, the Indian would blend with the general population.

Presumably, all of this was to be accomplished within a generation beginning roughly in the 1860's and basically completed by the 1890's. Efforts to implement this policy preoccupied American authorities for the remainder of the century. Their minds were on the Dakotas, the Utes, the Comanches; not the Six Nations, not the Pottawattomies, not the Shawnees, tribes the frontier had long since bypassed and who were of little concern to the United States government. Principally the government was concerned with getting the Plains Indians on reservations and opening up the land to white exploitation.

Education Grows in Importance

Education was recognized as one of the most important instruments for the transformation of these Indians, once settled on reservations, into peaceful farmers and stockraisers. The treaties negotiated in the late 1860's with the Plains tribes provided the framework for their relations with the United States throughout the remainder of the 19th century. All of them contained provisions for education. A typical one, that with the Kiowas and Comanches, negotiated in October, 1867, reads as follows:

> *Article 7.* In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted . . . and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished . . . The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

Such treaties pledged the United States to provide schools and the Indian parents to place their children in the schools. But the Indians had only the remotest idea of what they were being committed to. And while the Senate might ratify the treaties, appropriations to build and operate the schools would also require action by the economy minded Representatives in the House.

When the United States made these sweeping promises to provide education for the Plains Indians, its total commitment to Indian education was the $10,000 annual contribution to the Civilization Fund. One hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by Congress in 1870 to make a start on providing school facilities, but the annual $10,000 contribution was ended in 1873.

It took about 10 years to force the Plains Indians onto reservations, and little was done in education during that decade. For example, in 1875 there was only one school for the Kiowas and Comanches with 40 students enrolled out of a school age population of about 400. For those tribes that did not have a treaty requirement for education, very little was being done by the government. It is impossible to determine precisely, but probably less than 15% of the total Indian student population was enrolled in 1875.

In 1876 the first of what would become annual general appropriations for education was made by Congress. The first appropriation was a very modest $20,000, but that was twice as much as they had been appropriating up until 1873. It grew steadily, however – $75,000 by 1885, nearly a million and a half by 1890, and nearly three million dollars by 1900. This was almost half of the total appropriation for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By 1885 the government was appropriating about a million and a half dollars for education from the general fund. In addition, there were supplemental grants which fulfilled specific commitments to particular tribes such as the Kiowas and Comanches. Additional money, about $65,000 a year, was needed to satisfy all of the treaty requirements. These the Congress did not come close to satisfying. After all, if the United States had lived up to these treaty obligations and provided a school and teacher for each thirty children for all Plains Indians, they would have been spending, as of 1880, closer to two or two and a half million dollars.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Price, who was in the embarrassing position of trying to live up to these commitments without Congressional support, told Congress in 1882 that the United States was already two and a half million dollars in arrears in providing the promised education. There was considerable talk in this period about the United States violating its pledges to the Indians and using dishonorable tactics. Congress would not appropriate the money, however. The Congress' reluctance was fostered in part because it was appropriating hundreds of thousands of dollars annually for rations. As late as 1900 most of the Plains Indians were still when chided about not permitting the government to live up to its obligations on education, always pointed out that they would be happy to appropriate the money for education if they did not have to appropriate all that money to feed "the lazy Indians." Nevertheless, by 1900 the government, utilizing various available funding, had put together a system of schools that would accomodate about half of the potential school population.

Educational Policies

Throughout the period the manual labor approach was the accepted one. As a circular to agents put it in 1878:

> It is the policy of the Department to combine with the ordinary branches of an English education . . . instruction to the boys . . . in cultivating the farms and garden; and also, in a sufficient knowledge of the use, not only of agricultural implements, but of ordinary mechanical tools . . . The girls should also be taught all household industries such as breadmaking, plain cooking, cutting, making and mending garments for both sexes, the work of the dairy, and the proper care of the house.

Instruction in the schools was to be in English. "The intention," as a commissioner of Indian Affairs phrased it, "is to prevent the waste of valuable time by Indian children in schools, in learning a barbarous tongue which is not comprehensive enough to embrace civilization or to comprehend it, and to utilize that time in school in learning the language of the country of which they are to become citizens – a language in which not only the Scriptures can be read, but all the extensive literature of the civilized world."

It was also generally agreed that boarding schools were better than day schools. The argument for them was summed up in 1885 by the superintendent of Indian schools:

> The barbarian child of barbarian parents spends possibly six of the 24 hours of the day in a schoolroom. Here he is taught the rudiments of the books, varied, perhaps, by fragmentary lessons in the "good manners" of the superior race to which his teacher belongs. He returns, at the close of his day school, to eat and play and sleep after the savage fashion of his race. In the hours spent in school he has not acquired a distaste for the campfire, nor a longing for the food, the homelife, or the ordinary avocations of the white man . . . the day school gives to the Indian child useful information, but it does not take him away from barbarous life and put him into the enjoyment of civilized life – does not take him from the tepee into the house, and teach him to appreciate, by experiencing them, the comforts of the white man's civilization.

Carried to its logical conclusion this line of reasoning meant boarding schools located far from the corrupting influences of the barbarous tribe and family.

The first move in this direction was made in 1878 by enrolling Indians at Hampton Institute in Virginia, a private school for blacks. The following year Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Forest Grove in Oregon were opened as boarding schools exclusively for Indians. Several others were added before Congressional opposition, based largely on the expense of transporting students to and from such institutions, cut off further construction funds.

These training schools were to function as the apex of the government's Indian school system. To them, in theory at least, were to be transferred the most promising of the products of the reservation boarding schools, which in turn would recruit from the reservation day schools which would handle only primary instruction. In actual practice, during the early years both the reservation boarding schools and the training schools like Carlisle vigorously competed for what few children parents were prepared to part with. Agents used such weapons as were available to them such as threatening to deprive uncooperative parents of annuities and rations on which the Plains Indians depended throughout this period. Nevertheless, parents did resist, and an abnormal number of orphans were among the early classes particularly at schools like Carlisle where the child was expected to enroll for three years (later they attended for five years) without even an annual vacation with his family. Relatively high death rates among the students from western tribes assigned to eastern schools contributed understandably to parental reluctance to see their children enrolled at Carlisle and Hampton. Of the first 60 Kiowa and Comanche children to attend Carlisle, 13 died at the school or directly after returning home ill.

Despite the popularity of the boarding school concept with Indian Service personnel, about one-quarter of the students were attending day schools in the 1890's. The failure to eliminate day schools stemmed more from Congressional frugality than parental opposition. It cost about $30 a year to support a child in day school as opposed to $170 in a boarding school plus transportation for those located off-reservation.

This same frugality led the Indian Service to an enforced dependence upon the mission schools in the period of rapid expansion of the system in the 1880's. Unable to get Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to do the job itself, the BIA contracted with church and missionary societies to educate Indian children. For savings to the taxpayers that ran up to $60 a year for boarding school students, a saving of over a third, nearly 20% of the 14,300 Indian students in 1887 were enrolled in parochial schools.

The Roman Catholic Church was the most active of the religious groups involved in this education work among the Indians. In 1886, of 50 contract schools, the Roman Catholics sponsored 38. And of the roughly 2,500 students enrolled in contract schools, 2,000 were in schools administered by Roman Catholics. This church, alone, had over a million dollars invested in physical plants for these schools.

Around 1890 the issue of separation of church and state came to the fore. The vigor and scope of the Roman Catholic effort began to alarm certain Protestant elements. As a controversy began to develop over the role of church sponsored Indian education, the Protestant churches began to cut the level of their operations. Congress forced the Roman Catholics to sharply curtail their efforts by phasing out government subsidy to the contract schools between 1893 and 1900.

As the contract schools were phased out and Congress failed to take up the slack by considerably increasing appropriations for Indian education, the BIA necessarily made greater use of the cheaper day schools. One commissioner of Indian Affairs made a virtue of this necessity by lauding the contributions of day schools. As he phrased it:

> One of the most valuable adjuncts to successful

> Indian instruction is the day school. These schools are generally situated near the camps, and take the little ones from the very heart of barbarism. Rude, uncouth, and shy, the teacher has a most difficult task in instilling the first principles of knowledge into their brains; but patiently, step by step, this is gradually accomplished.

The superiority complex is not implicit, it is explicit throughout the literature in the area of education.

In the 1870's teachers in reservation schools were frequently the wives, daughters, or other relatives of agents. A very common occurence was for the male superintendent of the school to have his wife employed as a teacher. This was not frowned upon as married men were preferred as agency employees, and the reservation school positions were so unattractive, the Indian Service had difficulty recruiting competent personnel. A form letter to new appointees in 1887 attempted to prepare them for some of the problems they would face:

> Madame: You are hereby appointed to the position of teacher at the Osage Indian school, Indian Territory, at a salary of $480.00 per annum. In addition to your salary you are allowed light and quarters, and you are permitted to purchase supplies from the Agent at cost price plus transportation. The duties of the position require that you must live at the school. The teaching must be in the English language. Besides the necessary educational qualifications, a teacher among the Indians must be possessed of great patience and tact in order to get their confidence, without which all your efforts will be in vain. You must be prepared to forego many of the pleasant associations of civilization, and be contented to live among a people just emerging from barbarism, and put up with the inconveniences and disagreeable features surrounding the Indian modes of living . . ."

Despite the phasing out of contract schools and the larger role given day schools, the fundamental role of the Indian schools remained unchanged between 1865 and the end of the century. In 1900 the commissioner of Indian Affairs reaffirmed the end object of the government's Indian policy as "the complete extinguishment of the Indian race by its absorbtion into the body politic of the country."

In 1899 Henry L. Dawes, who as a United States Senator had played an important role in shaping American Indian policy (the Severalty Act of 1887 bears his name) pointed out that since 1887 the government had invested about thirty million dollars in the education of Indians. He maintained that soon the school facilities for Indian children would equal those available to white children.

The Final Irony

But the object of the government's programs had not been just to put together a system of Indian schools comparable to the schools for white children. It had been to prepare the young Indians to join the dominant society. Economy minded congressmen had argued against large expenditures for school facilities for the Indian Service on the grounds that the Indians, if what Indian Service personnel kept saying was true, should shortly be entering the public school systems of the states in which they resided. In 1890 the first contracts had been made with public school systems to admit Indian children. Although the government's offer was financially attractive, few local districts demonstrated any interest in enrolling Indian students. After an initial beginning in 1890, the number of students attending public schools declined in 1891, 1892, and 1893. Local prejudice against Indians explains it, an ironic conclusion to the government's efforts in the 19th century to put together a system of education and preparation for citizenship.

The final irony is that the reservation system, of which the schools were a major part, while designed to prepare the Indian for integration into American society, has become, a century later, the last stronghold of Indian culture and of an emerging Indian nationalism. The wave of the future seems to be Indian school systems run by Indians and dedicated to the principle that Indian differences are to be reinforced by education rather than dissipated as a prelude to assimilation. This is a far cry from the educational objectives of the 19th century officials and friends of the Indian.

DISCUSSION

Merv Goldbas: Were there any attempts during the relocation period or immediately thereafter in the building of a school program to educate adults?

Hagan: Most statements in the record are to the effect that the adult Indian is a lost cause. In other words, he was simply to be kept from doing any harm to himself or the white population. Certainly, there was nothing remotely resembling adult education. The hope was for the young. There was this tremendous optimism, although no experience to justify it, that somehow the educational system was going to turn a generation of young Indians into carbon copies of whites.

Gerry Krzemien: Were there any instances of Indian communities seeing schooling as a type of adaptation to the larger society and perhaps asking groups to come in and set up schools?

Hagan: Occasionally a tribe like the Choctaws took great interest in education. If you examine that situation or any comparable one closely, what you usually discover is that it is intermarried whites who promote education. Offhand, I cannot think of a single instance when a tribe of full-blood Indians was oriented in that direction. Initially, when this system began, particularly the off-reservation boarding schools, the agents would be told to supply so many students to the schools. What the agents would do is either round up the orphan children, the children of captured Mexicans, or the children of the people who did not have any power within the tribe. Those are the ones who went to school; not the children of the leaders as a rule.

Robert Wells: We look back at the Cherokee school system as a prototype of local control – the use of the Cherokee language, emphasis on Cherokee history, the kinds of things Indian educators are trying to develop now did evolve in the context of that time. The state of Oklahoma, however, destroyed it in the early 1900's. Concerning the Cherokee school system, was it recognized by anyone as a viable alternative?

Hagan: What you have to bear in mind is that all of these early schools that continue down from the middle of the 19th century among the Five Civilized Tribes are church affiliated. They are the schools that I was describing when I discussed the mission schools in the second period after 1819. There is relatively little information on what transpired in these schools of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and the Chickasaws in Oklahoma in the latter 19th century. When they began to get around to the dissolution of this system, then we begin to see some criticisms of it. We can be suspicious of these criticisms. But by the same token, statements to the effect that the Cherokees had put together a school system that was far superior to anything they have been exposed to since are highly questionable, too. My guess is that they probably had the same problems that we associate with rural schools based on population and a low degree of literacy. Evidence is lacking to make a strong case for either side.

James Richburg: At least the Cherokees and the Choctaws had more control over their students. The missionaries in the schools were often Choctaw themselves. After the first few years in Oklahoma, they went back to Mississippi and established themselves in the public schools. Your point is very well taken that the inviting of the missionaries was often done by sons or daughters of mixed marriages. It is also interesting to know that after the Choctaw were removed to Oklahoma and they started to reestablish their school system, a promise that they made to the government, it was actually returned to the full-blood leaders in that time period.

Lincoln White: What is the current number of boarding school students?

Hagan: The percentage number of students enrolled in boarding schools and day schools run by the government as opposed to the number of students in public schools has been fairly uniform from 1900 to the present. Better than 50% of the students are in boarding schools.

The boarding school was the best way of separating the Indian child from his environment and preparing him for the transition to live in another world. In addition, there was the simple matter of once you have these schools in operation, they must be kept filled. Once the Bureau associated with a school of this nature, it became self-perpetuating.

Elizabeth Duran: You mentioned that youngsters would be away from three to five years in the 19th century, but just two or three years ago, in a subcommittee report of the U.S. Senate, testimony was given that about seven or eight thousand children that we would consider kindergarten, first, and second graders, below ten years old, were away from home as much as a year at a time. Then there were efforts to find summer homes for them to keep them from going home.

Steve Adolphus: Do you know about the relationships of the Indians attending Carlisle to the surrounding community? How were they received?

Hagan: Apparently Pratt did an excellent public relations job. The institution was the pride of the neighborhood. Pratt had many good qualities. We might not buy his approach to Indian education, but he was very dedicated to his ideas, and he was not just someone drawing his pay. People admired his industry and, at the time, they agreed with his objectives as to what should be done. There does not seem to have been any opposition when he went into the area.

Tony Gullo: I realize that there are a lot of variables to this question, but which of the three types of schools were the most "successful" in reaching or trying to assimilate Indians – the public schools, the parochial schools, or the BIA sponsored schools?

Hagan: The BIA sponsored off-reservation schools were the most successful, given the objectives. If you accept their premise that the objective of the schools is to get the child to start anew, away from his native environment if possible, the fact that they were successful is reflected by the returning student. The child who had been exposed to this other environment for five years is so removed from his original culture that he is almost an outcast when he returns. The classic example of that is the young Sioux, Plenty Horses, who shot an army officer, Lt. Casey, in 1891 – the time of the Ghost Dance uprising. He had returned after five or six years at Carlisle and suddenly he did not belong to the tribe. They scorned him. In order to reinstate himself, he just murdered the officer. The classic case of the problem of the returned student.

Assimilation, aside from the Indian New Deal period of the 1930's which I regard as an aberration up until recent events, has always been the idea; phase out the Bureau of Indian Affairs as quickly as possible and get rid of this troublesome minority group which has a legal existence that distinguishes them from the rest of the population. One can always say, of course, that it could have been worse. We could have adopted a policy of deliberate apartheid such as South Africa has employed with reference to minorities. We could have embarked upon the policy of extermination. I suspect that had it been left to the frontier population of the 1870's, this is just what would have happened. What was going on there was war.

Arliss Barss: Do you have any information on the Navajo Community College? How is it run, how is it doing, and is it successful?

Hagan: It is an Indian operation clearly. I do not, however, regard anything of that scope which is dependent upon outside help as a total success. What happens when something else begins to get popular and the funding foundations turn to support it? I gather that the Navajo themselves cannot support it at the level they would like it to operate. In that sense it can hardly be a success.

Wells: There is concern now about accreditation of locally controlled schools and colleges. What about accreditation for the Navajo College?

Hagan: There is going to be a problem in any school that advertises that it will attempt to put together courses to satisfy the need of the local people, and yet at the same time attempt to function as a bona fide community college with the privilege of transferring credit. I do not think they can have it both ways. Some communities may choose to have a community college which cannot be accredited in the normal fashion. But I see no reason why they need accreditation at this time. I think there are other functions that the college can perform that may be of more value.

Gullo: I teach at a community college. Transfer credit is something a community college does, and unfortunately it is inhibiting the development of innovative types of programs at the community college level because of the concern with transferability. I would like to see it deemphasized.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Pan-Indianism: Common Bonds in Indian Life

A common education was pivotal to Pan-indianism

by Hazel W. Hertzberg

It is important to know the history of Indian movements in order to understand what is happening today. Of course, some people think historical perspective is not very useful when dealing with the present. I believe, however, that this is not true in any case, but certainly is not true in Indian affairs, and certainly is not true for persons involved in Indian education. All Pan-Indian organizations displayed a commitment to education. Significantly, a common education and experience at Carlisle was pivotal to Pan-Indian organization. For educators today, it is important to realize that further educational experience is inevitably going to create new forms of Pan-Indianism.

The study of Indian movements will be useful not only to Indians, because everyone should know their own history, but will shed new light on American history as a whole[*]. Reform is an extremely useful topic today as we are in the midst of a reform period ourselves. Close examination of Pan-Indian movements between 1900 and 1934 will identify some broad patterns and may help in the interpretation of current movements. It is on this period that I am going to focus today.

Pan-Indian movements emphasize a common Indian identity distinct from and sometimes in opposition to a tribal identity. Their emphasis is on being an Indian rather than being a member of a tribe.

There are three basic types of Pan-Indian organizations – reform, fraternal, and religious. Their patterns of organization are drawn from their reform, fraternal, and religious counterparts in the larger society. These types of movements are Indian in ideology and partially of their organizational patterns, but there are, except for religion, no aboriginal models in Indian life which are available for reform or fraternal Pan-Indian activities with the exception of powwows. These movements all have some way of identifying what it is to be an Indian. What Indians call themselves and what they believe unites and divides them are crucial matters.

Previous to the European invasion there does not seem to have been any sense among Indians of a common bond of being Indian as distinct from being a member of a tribe. Most Indian languages have a word for people or original being

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[*] Unfortunately, very little is known as yet about the history of modern Indian movements. There are many reasons for this. Indians themselves have not been active in the field of history. Those who have engaged in scholarly pursuits have preferred to go into anthropology. Also, Indians have been of only peripheral interest to the mainstream of American historical writing, which has tended to have a primarily political cast. Indians appear largely in accounts of wars.

The sources that are important for the study of Pan-Indian movements are publications and archives of Pan-Indian organizations, records of Indian leaders, and publications of non-Indian defense organizations. We need to interview participants in Pan-Indian movements to preserve the oral history; this is especially important because so much of the record is not written down. Official records are very rich. There are government archives, tribal records, school records, and Congressional hearings in which many Indians who have not left papers have left their testimony. There are many Indian autobiographies being published now. And, of course, anthropological studies are another important source.

As educators, you might consider how your institutions might contribute to saving these records. Possibly there are Indians in your area who would be willing to contribute them to your library; some Indian students may be willing to compile sources themselves. Even if we cannot write the history immediately, the sources are indispensible. They are disappearing at a rapid rate which is tragic for the record.

which refers to themselves, but they do not have a word for all Indians. That is an invention which was essentially defensive when whites came here. Indian societies consist of many different cultures, many languages, and they are not the same at all, either aboriginally or today. When the Europeans invaded this continent, Indians typically responded in a major way as tribes and in a minor way by uniting against the invaders.

There are several Pan-Indian movements in history which are background to modern movements – Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, Pontiac and his brother the Prophet, and especially appropriate to this area, Joseph Brant. In Oklahoma there were many attempts at Indian unity well beyond the tribe. Besides these largely political or politico-religious responses to the European invasion, there were such responses as the Ghost Dance and other religious movements which had as their objective to return the land to its aboriginal state – magically. By the end of the 19th century all of these movements had failed.

At the end of the 19th century several important events took place which deeply influenced the course of Indian history and Pan-Indian organization. One of them was the founding of Carlisle by General Pratt, a Civil War general on the Union side. Carlisle was absolutely critical to the development of national Pan-Indian organizations. Without Carlisle I do not think there would have been as early a development of modern Pan-Indian movements, and without education there would have been none. All of the organizations were led by educated men and women, mainly from Carlisle, some from Hampton, and some from largely white institutions of higher learning.

The Importance of Carlisle

Carlisle presents a most interesting case. It had a way of dealing with its students which seems rather horrible today. Students were not allowed to speak Indian languages, and a strong attempt was made to deculturate them completely and turn them into facsimiles of members of the larger society. In spite of this process, Carlisle was able to get a tremendous loyalty, love, and affection from its students. This fact has to be explained in some way. It was partly because General Pratt really believed in his students as human beings, even though he had a cultural attitude with which few today would sympathize.

Because all students at Carlisle had to learn English, they developed a language for talking with each other. This may not seem to be important, but there cannot be movements of any substance unless people speak the same language. At that time there was not a large, educated Indian class which spoke English, so Carlisle put men and women in touch with each other with a common language and a common experience. Carlisle had tremendous prestige. Indians began to be employed in the Indian Service, and they would be placed in reservations not of their own tribe but with other tribes. As they were transferred around, Indians began to have experiences in which they knew people and knew tribes outside of their own. This also helped to build a common feeling of identity. It also built conflicting loyalties because Indians in the Service were often in a position of doing things with which they did not agree.

Educated Indians, by the end of the 19th century, especially in the Northeast and in Oklahoma, were beginning to make their way in the world in the professions, in business, and in farming. Often these men and women did not live on reservations and did not have a very close relationship with the tribe. They still felt themselves to be Indians and had a sense of kinship or obligation to the reservation. (There are many Indians in this situation today.) Pan-Indianism was their organizational expression.

The Influence of Christianity

A further influence in building Pan-Indian organizations and movements was the influence of Christianity. There are many Indian Christians. Indian Christianity built a bond among Indian people. The emergence of white Indian defense organizations which were strongly Christian oriented helped Indian people in the defense of Indian rights. The most important of these was the Indian Rights Association, founded in 1882, which still functions in Philadelphia. These organizations were the major fighters against treaty violations. They did yeoman service and were very useful organizations. But these chief "friends" that the Indians had in court were hostile to Indian religions and often hostile to many other Indian cultural practices. This had a damaging effect on the way Indians thought about themselves. The missionaries and reformers in the Indian Rights Association could not see much value in the Indian cultures. They saw virtue in the Indian past, but not much virtue in the Indian present.

The Melting Pot

The idea of the melting pot, which is a crucial idea in Indian history, was not an idea which was extended to Indians until the end of the 19th century. The melting pot is the idea that all nationalities in this country should contribute their very best qualities to the melting pot, and that the result of this melting would be a new man who was a combination of all these qualities and who was constantly in the process of creation as new elements were added. In the case of the Indians, they were not thought to have qualities to contribute to the melting pot; they were just supposed to be melted without contributing anything.

Just because the Indian's friends did not think that they had something important to contribute to the melting pot did not mean that Indians agreed with this. At the turn of the century a group of Indians who were educated decided that they had an important contribution to make to the society as Indians. They were not willing to vanish, and they were not willing simply to be absorbed into the population without making a contribution to changing this new man, this American. They wanted to preserve what they believed was best in Indian life and combine it with what was best in American society according to their view. Out of this they hoped to produce an Indian who was both modern and related strongly to the aboriginal past. These are the Indians who created the first Pan-Indian organizations of the modern world.

These Indians adapted ideas from the larger society which they believed could help form a respectable basis of accommodation with it. These ideas included a strong emphasis on

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Indian self-help and a rejection of governmental paternalism. They also included ideas drawn from patterns of immigrant experience. Pan-Indians pointed out that immigrants could easily become citizens while Indians, the first people on this continent, were not allowed to do so. Why, they asked, should not Indians become citizens in much the same way as immigrants?

A further group of ideas were drawn from social science. From anthropology came the idea of inevitable evolution from savagery through barbarism to civilization, a deterministic view now deeply modified but then accepted by educated men and women. Another idea was that of race, which in the beginning of the 20th century was thought of as inherently good, something one is proud of. Each race was considered equal but different. But "race" was a confused conception. It was often thought of as interchangeable with nationality or culture.

Toward the end of the 19th century organizations arose which helped Indians to help themselves and to which Indians gave much help. The most important of these was the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution. J.N.B. Hewitt, the Tuscarora anthropologist, was a member of the Bureau of American Ethnology and so was an Omaha anthropologist, Francis LaFlesche. These men and other non-Indian ethnologists in the BAE took a positive view of Indian cultures. They provided a counterpoint to the missionaries who were not enthusiastic about Indian cultures. There was a good deal of hostility between the Christian missionary groups and the anthropologists. The Christian groups accused Hewitt, LaFlesche, and white anthropologists of wanting to keep Indians as specimens in museums for study. The echoes of all these controversies are still heard today.

From sociology came the idea of status. One of the problems that educated Indians had was an uncertain status. This was, of course, closely connected with legal status. In this period Indians began to develop a major interest in the law which is an obviously necessary interest. A group of Indian lawyers arose who helped in some cases to defend the Indian's rights and in other cases to cheat fellow Indians. Legal protection is one of the most difficult problems that Indians have had to face. In the early 20th century Indian law was unbelievably complicated. It is not surprising that in the maze of laws having to do with Indians, nobody was able to find their way through very well until Indian law was codified under the New Deal. Even so, it is still complicated.

Fateful New Policy

This same period witnessed fateful changes in governmental Indian policy. In 1887 the Dawes Act was a major piece of legislation which set Indian policy until the New Deal. In this Act, Indian lands were to be allotted and Indians were eventually to acquire citizenship. All of the Pan-Indian organizations developed in the context of Dawes Act policy and ideology.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the hope of Dawes Act proponents that all Indian lands would be allotted and Indians would be living on their farms and largely assimilated into the population turned out to be an illusory idea. The Indians did not vanish and are not going to vanish. In this period it was obvious that the Dawes Act was not working well. Partially as a result, the first important modern reform organization of Indians arose. It was the Society of American Indians which really was the red wing of the Progressive movement. Although the initiative in forming this organization was taken by a white sociologist, it was an Indian organization.

The Founders of the SAI

Fayette McKenzie, who took the initiative, was a sociologist at Ohio State and a typical Progressive of his period. One of the people who came to Ohio State to form the organization was Charles A. Eastman, a Sioux. Eastman went to an Indian boarding school and ended up in Dartmouth. He studied medicine, eventually joined the Indian Service, and was a doctor at Wounded Knee. He was not allowed to go to Wounded Knee on the day of the massacre – they did not let anyone out there, and anyway there was a huge snow storm – but he went the next day and was bitterly disillusioned with what he found. Eastman resigned from the Service and began to write books. Many of Eastman's books are now reprinted because of the current interest in Indian affairs.

Another leader in the Society of American Indians was Carlos Montezuma. Montezuma was an Apache. He was known throughout his life as both "Monty" and as the "Fiery Apache." Montezuma was in an interesting position – a good doctor with a good practice in Chicago who served for a while at Carlisle and was deeply influenced by General Pratt.

There were other influential professional people involved in the Society of American Indians. The Rev. Sherman Coolidge, an Arapaho, served for some years as SAI president. Thomas L. Sloan was an Omaha who became a lawyer active in Indian defense cases. Charles E. Daganett, a Miami, was in the delicate position of being the highest ranking Indian in the Indian Service. Another important man was Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago, graduate of Yale, minister, and later one of the authors of the Meriam Report published in 1928. Also important in this group was Marie L. Baldwin, a Chippewa, a lawyer and a suffragette. Laura Cornelius, an Oneida, played a prominent role in the Society in its early days, and Gertrude Bonnin, a Sioux, later became the SAI secretary and editor of its journal. But by far the most important intellectual and organizational influence in the Society was Arthur C. Parker, the Seneca anthropologist, who became editor of the SAI's *Quarterly Journal* (later the *American Indian Magazine*), its secretary-treasurer, and finally its president.

Call to the First Conference

The call to the founding conference gives an idea of the quality of the organization. The call set forth the reasons why such a meeting should be held.

"1. The highest ethical forces of America have been endeavoring on a large scale and in a systematic way to bring the native American into the modern life. It is well to see whether these efforts have brought results.

"2. The time has come when the Indians should be encouraged to develop self-help. This can be achieved only with the attainment of race consciousness and a race leadership." That was absolutely critical. This group thought of themselves as providing that race leadership and developing that race consciousness. Remember, race is a positive term. It is positive in the larger society, and it is positive among Indians. "We cannot predict the race leader, but a gathering of the educated progressive members of all the tribes is a prerequisite to his discovery." The reason for this statement is probably the eminence of Booker T. Washington among blacks who was thought of as *the* race leader. Indians never developed one spokesman, like Washington, and the reasons are obvious – among them, that Indians are much more culturally diverse than blacks and probably always will be. Indians will probably never have a leader in the sense that Washington was a leader of blacks, but it was thought at that time that some such leader might arise.

"3. The Indian has certain contributions of value to offer to our government and our people. These contributions will be made more efficiently [a typical Progressive emphasis] if made in an authorized and collective way. They will, at least they may, save immense losses from mistaken policies which we might otherwise follow.

"4. The white man is somewhat uncomfortable under a conviction that a century of dishonor has not been redeemed." The century of dishonor is a reference to Helen Hunt Jackson's influential book, *A Century of Dishonor*, which is a strong indictment of the treatment of the Poncas. "If in any degree he can convince himself and his red brother that he is willing to do what he can for the race whose lands he has occupied, a new step toward social justice will have been taken." Social justice is, of course, another typical Progressive concern.

The founding conference of the Society of American Indians opened on October 12, 1911. The choice of Columbus Day was not an accident but rather a symbolic gesture. Essentially the participants were middle-class: professionals, businessmen, farmers, and Indian Service people. They were united by a positive view of race. They called themselves Indians, Native Americans, our people, Indian people, Amerindian, American Indian, and Indian American. What people call themselves is one key to how they think about themselves. These men and women were proud of being Indian and said so. They thought that it was important to have some place where the Indian middle-class, educated elite (a term which they did not use, but obviously the SAI was an elite operation) could express the common experience which they had as being part of the Indian world and, on the other hand, part of a non-Indian world. Being between two worlds may be a painful experience. The SAI attempted to make some creative, fruitful connection between them. The participants were also united in an ambiguous, strained and rather tense view of the tribe. Many of them had strong feelings about being tribal members. On the one hand, they wanted it, mostly for the old people. But on the other hand, they wanted the tribe to vanish. These are simply inconsistent attitudes that people held at the same time. They talked a lot about the "tyranny of the tribe." For them it was like living in a small town where one is different. That can be a difficult situation for anyone. The position of these professional, educated Indians in the tribe was often not a comfortable one because frequently the older people as well as those who had not been away to school were very suspicious of many of them.

In format, the Society of American Indians was a typical reform organization. The SAI had a president, vice-president, a constitution, and published a journal (which is largely the way we know them). The organization had annual meetings and it lobbied in Washington. It was probably the first organization which created a familiar pattern of Indian organization which is full voting membership for Indians and associate non-voting membership for non-Indians. The SAI had a membership division, a legislative division, and an educational division, all reflecting the interests of the members.

What did the Society of American Indians fight for? They fought for the Carter Code bill. Charles D. Carter, Chickasaw, was a congressman from Oklahoma whose bill clarified the legal status of Indians. They fought for opening the United States Court of Claims to the Indians so that they could make claims directly against the government without a special act of Congress. That reform was not accomplished until 1946 when the Indian Claims Commission was established. They called for the reorganization of the Indian school system, meaning the system operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They favored both the BIA school system in a modified fashion and they favored Indian children going to public schools; the Society was interested in getting Indian children into public schools as fast as possible. Arthur Parker invented something which is a perennial Pan-Indian activity – American Indian Day. He invented this idea primarily as a way of interpreting Indian life to non-Indians. The Society fought for better health conditions on Indian reservations. They also attempted to start a settlement house movement on Indian reservations which was not a very successful enterprise. Note how closely the SAI's reform program coincided with the Progressive reform interests of the day: remedial legislation, education, legal reform, health, the social settlement.

The SAI Fades

Factionalism developed in the SAI over a number of issues. Everybody thinks that Indians are more factional than other people. This charge of factionalism is excessive. There are very few non-Indian organizations which do not have factions. Most reform organizations have many factions. Factions did erupt in the SAI over issues which are similar to issues that are coming up today. One was a controversy over the abolition of the Indian Bureau. There were two views in the Society, the radical and the moderate. The radicals led by Carlos Montezuma, the Apache physician from Chicago, wanted to abolish the Indian Bureau immediately and let everyone "go free," so to speak. Other Indians, Arthur Parker for example, disagreed with this and were worried about Indian lands which, if the Bureau had been abolished, presumably would have been completely allotted. There were also attacks by the wing of the Society led by Montezuma on Indians who worked for the Bureau. This is another theme which recurs in reform organizations. Indians employed by the BIA were accused of dual loyalty. It was said that they could not be loyal to the Bureau and loyal to the Indian race at the same time. The Indian officials hotly retorted that this was not so, but finally the attack became so strong that many of them dropped out of the Society. There were fights over legal aid because the Society did not have much money and many people wanted legal aid from them. They really could not fulfill all of the requests they received. The SAI also had problems with tribes which were having devisive disagreements with each other, as, for example, situations in which two tribes were claiming the same land. They were unable to achieve many of the legislative reforms they wanted and that also contributed to the factionalism.

By the time the U.S. entered World War I, the Society – Arthur Parker was then president and editor of its *Journal* – was in serious trouble. This had to do with a general ebbing of interest in reform in this country. Parker was thrown out and Eastman took over. By the early 1920's the organization was limping along and finally faded out. By the 20's, too, the whole melting pot ideology which had helped to sustain the emphasis on commonness and common race was being replaced by an emphasis on individual cultures and self-determination, a la Woodrow Wilson. Emphasis on individual cultures (and this is important today) makes it more difficult to have Pan-Indian organization.

In the 20's many of the men and women who had been active in this organization contributed to the rethinking of Indian policy and played an important role in a meeting of all factions (whites were factionalized on Indian questions, too) in what was called the Indian field. The Committee of One Hundred met in 1923 at the call of the Secretary of the Interior in the wake of a public outcry against various schemes to defraud Indians of their lands. It consisted of distinguished Americans from many walks of life. Arthur Parker presided at that meeting. A new consensus on Indian affairs which involved doing away with the Dawes Act and a much stronger Indian culture emphasis began to develop. A new group of reformers led by John Collier, who was later to become Indian Commissioner, had entered the Indian field and the Indian Rights Association had to accommodate them.

The SAI Sets the Pattern

The basic patterns of reform Pan-Indianism were set in this period. Since the Society of American Indians there have been many reform organizations, the most important being the National Congress of American Indians. The NCAI was founded in 1944 after the New Deal policy on Indians was in trouble, just as the Society of American Indians was formed after the Dawes Act was in trouble. The NCAI had much the same types of people in the founding group as had the SAI: professionals, business people, anthropologists, Indian Bureau officials, the educated college group. As one might expect, Haskell had replaced the now defunct Carlisle as a producer of Pan-Indians. The NCAI also had a similar platform, but was much more tribally oriented, largely in consequence of the tribally oriented New Deal policy.

The National Congress of American Indians is still functioning, and that is quite a record for any reform organization to last that long. The reform organization patterns have continued to resemble strongly the patterns and ideology of the reform movements in the larger society. This is obviously true today when American Indian organizations exhibit many of the same interests, analyses, viewpoints, and actions as organizations of other minority groups.

Success?

Did this first reform movement – the Society of American Indians – succeed? In a sense, I think it did. It created a new image, to use a contemporary word, of Indians. It pointed to many important reforms that were to take place decades later in governmental policy. It trained a generation of people in the ways of reform and protest organizations. It affected attitudes and set patterns. It ingeniously and creatively combined Indian and non-Indian ways of looking at things. All those consequences seem to mean success. But it did not immediately get its legislative program enacted and it did fall victim to factionalism and so, in the end, it did disappear. Many political reform movements are like that – they succeed in part and they fail in part.

The second major type of Pan-Indian movement is the fraternal type. By fraternal Pan-Indianism I mean social clubs and fraternal orders where the primary emphasis is not on reform, political or religious, but rather people getting together, helping each other, working, and socializing in some fraternal way. Fraternal Pan-Indianism arose as an important force in the 20's, although it has never had the organizational coherence that reform Pan-Indianism has had. The 20's was a decade in American history with a strong emphasis on fraternal activities and orders in contrast to the major emphasis on reform movements which was characteristic of American interests in the Progressive period. Fraternal Pan-Indianism arose largely in cities where Indians often felt lonely, needed help from each other, or just wanted to get together and be Indian for a while and feel some sense of common identity.

An important national fraternal organization was the Tepee Order, founded as a youth movement in 1915 in New York City by Red Fox St. James (not the "famous" Chief Red Fox). After World War I the Tepee Order was turned into an adult organization and some of the leaders of the Society of American Indians, including Charles Eastman and Sherman Coolidge, became involved in it. It also had a secular or non-fraternal order wing called the American Indian Association. The affairs of the two organizations are difficult to separate.

The Tepee Order/American Indian Association was interested in education and like many Pan-Indian organizations offered scholarships to Indian students. This has continued to be a basic Pan-Indian activity. They were not much interested in political reform, but did back the Citizenship Act of 1924. They concentrated more on the ritual and the degrees of the Order. The Tepee Order had white members, but its leadership was largely Indian. They also had a ladies auxiliary.

Masonry and Fraternal Pan-Indianism

After 1924 the interest in the Tepee Order began to fade and was replaced by Masonry. Masonry seems to have been historically one of the best and most important ways for Indians to form relationships with the rest of society. Masonry involves a series of steps in which everyone knows where they are. Indians were welcome among Masons, and almost every important Pan-Indian leader, including many religious pan-Indians, were also Masons. Arthur Parker wrote an important pamphlet published by the Buffalo Consistory on what he called Indian Free Masonry. This pamphlet was widely published and pirated, and in this period sections of it frequently appeared in Indian newspapers.

In the 20's, besides the Tepee Order, there were many Indian clubs in the cities, anticipating the current situation at Indian urban centers. There were active clubhouses in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other big cities where Indians got together. In some instances, collections were taken to send clothing and other supplies back to the reservations. This fraternal movement tended to be romantic about Indians and to be full of princesses and chiefs, prayers to the Great Spirit, and really a lot that was very hokey. Middle-class people like Arthur Parker and others looked down on this and were embarrassed by this behavior. But it served an important function in Indian life and it established an urban tradition. The unifying idea of these clubs was still race. The leadership were lower middle-class types and respectable small businessmen, some Carlisle people, but there were none of the college graduate Indians involved in this movement. The clubs did have the effect of drawing Indian powwows to the large city areas. Fraternal Pan-Indianism involved quite a large number of Indians but was much less well organized than the reform variety.

The third type of Pan-Indianism is religious. The peyote cult-Native American Church, a form of religious Pan-Indianism, has been very important in Indian life. As reform and fraternal Pan-Indians adapted models of organization and ideas from their counterparts in the dominant society and used them for their own purposes, religious Pan-Indians did the same. They took as their model Christian, largely fundamentalist churches, with some small Catholic influence also, and combined these with strong tribal and inter-tribal Indian elements. But the churches which were partial models for the peyotists were at the same time the bitterest enemies of the cult. This has been a tragedy in many ways in Indian life. The churches were afraid of the peyote people because the central feature of the peyote ceremonials is the taking of peyote which is a drug. We do not know if this drug is harmful, and so far it does not seem to be harmful. Nevertheless, to good Christians, taking drugs, especially in the first part of the century, was anathema. They also were worried about a rival Indian church or Indian religious movement which was controlling itself. There were many Indian Christians, and so there was also a rivalry between Indian Christians and the peyote people.

The peyote cult apparently originated in Mexico and spread to Oklahoma which became its heartland. Many Carlisle students were leaders and participants in the cult. Indians who spoke English traveled to various tribes spreading the good word of the peyote religion which was a flexible religion adaptable to different circumstances. The peyote religion was the Pan-Indianism of the reservation and was responsive to tribal views and ways of doing things. The people who participated in it were largely educated people, not the traditional people. The latter opposed it because they saw it as a rival. The orthodox Christians also saw it as a rival. The peyote people thus had a difficult time, but their difficulties helped them to grow.

Besides its flexibility, its blending of Christian and aboriginal Indian elements, and its emphasis on a common bond among all Indians, the peyote cult had other attractions for reservation Indians. Part of the appeal of peyote was that it was believed to cure people of illnesses, and there was a tremendous amount of illness on reservations during this period. The Plains Indians especially tended to be preoccupied with illness, and so peyote was welcomed. Whether peyote has any curative functions is still not known. The other major element was that peyote people did not drink. It seems that taking peyote enabled people to stop drinking, and many of the people who were leaders of the cult were former alcoholics. Alcohol is one of the disasters in Indian life and Indians rightly feel strongly and are sensitive about this terrible problem. Peyote was welcomed by many people as a way of curing themselves from drinking.

As the cult increased in strength so did the opposition to it. By 1918 there was a highly vocal opposition to the peyote religion. After a number of attempts to eliminate it by other means, a bill to outlaw it was introduced in Congress. In the Congressional hearings, the Society of American Indians testified in bitter opposition to peyote. The missionary groups, the white defense organizations, and the Indian Rights Association also bitterly opposed the peyote religion. The peyote people, of course, testified for it. The defense of peyote came from anthropologists in the Bureau of American Ethnology, both Indian and non-Indian, like Francis LaFlesche and James Mooney. When the hearings had concluded, the peyote people were deeply worried. They felt they were about to be outlawed and their religion taken away from them. They went back to Oklahoma where Mooney suggested that they incorporate as a church and thereby put themselves under the protection of the First Amendment religious freedoms of the U.S. Constitution.

The Native American Church

Thus they became the Native American Church in response to this persecution. Through this campaign of persecution the Native American Church solidified itself and took a more permanent organizational form. On the whole, the persecution helped to spread the religion. It incorporated in a number of states, and Carlisle students were instrumental in spreading the Native American doctrine.

The Native American church is definitely a rural church and requires a rural setting. The peyote faith is strongly rooted on the reservation and will likely remain as a basically reservation, and to some extent, small town religion. It is limited to Plains Indians with few expections.

The Native American Church is by far the largest of the Pan-Indian movements. The new Indian ecumenical movement may perform a Pan-Indian function by bringing together Indians of varying religious views. However, the Native American Church has received the most loyalty from Indians and is the movement closest to aboriginal life.

DISCUSSION

Art Einhorn: To what extent did Charles Curtis play a part in Indian affairs?

Hertzberg: Charles Curtis was Vice President of the United States under Hoover. He was a member of the Kaw tribe. Many Indians and non-Indians do not realize that the U.S. has had an Indian Vice President. Curtis was a member of the Society of American Indians. He was a congressman from Kansas. He did not have a big Indian constituency when he was elected as a congressman. This reflects something about the position of American whites and Indians.

Robert Wells: In retrospect, the allotment system, more than any one policy decision during the last century, has done a great disservice to Indian peoples in that it compromised the integrity of the reservation and undermined tribal authority. How does one explain the support that this legislation gained from tribal leaders, Pan-Indian organizations, and white defense organizations?

Hertzberg: Most of the people, both Indians and non-Indians, involved in this early movement favored allotments. Before you judge them too harshly, remember that Indians had been conquered and put on reservations. Proud and independent people had become wards of the state. Many Indians felt that the reservation was a prison. There are many ways of looking at the reservation. But the people in this period remembered having been free. Many of them wanted to eliminate the reservation. The very acculturated men and women had, as I mentioned, not too easy a time on the reservation. That is actually not so unusual. There are many little communities, non-Indian communities, where a college educated person has difficulty living. All of these Indians saw themselves assimilating to some extent. They felt that the old life was over even though they were close to the old life, much closer than we are today. The old life was within the living memory of men. They felt they had to adjust to the new situation that they were in. And so they believed in assimilation. But it depends on what is meant by assimilation. They believed in assimilation but they did not want to vanish as Indians. They did feel, however, that the definition of being an Indian would change.

The chief difference between them and their white friends, the missionary types, was that they were more sympathetic to the old life. The missionaries were beginning to come around on this, so they were learning something.

My view is that all people in this culture – whites, Indians, blacks, everyone – are today all much closer to each other in countless basic ways than any of them are to their counterparts of fifty to sixty years ago. In other words, an enormous amount of mutual assimilation has taken place. But that does not mean for a moment that there are not very great differences. No more than white communities do Indian communities remain the same. They change and evolve just as other peoples do. There is not any Indian community that I know of that has not changed since 1900. I do not know whether that should be called assimilation or not.

Steve Adolphus: In the beginning of progressive Pan-Indianism were there any tribes or groups of tribes who refused for one reason or another to participate?

Hertzberg: The whole relationship of tribes in reform Pan-Indianism is quite cloudy. In the beginning, especially because Charles Eastman was involved, the SAI hoped that they would have tribal representatives. They really never did. They did not see themselves as detribalized, but they knew perfectly well they were not representing tribes in any official capacity. They thought of themselves as members of tribes, but not as representatives. That was not possible at that time. So it would not be proper to say that tribes refused. But it is clear that the major people who were involved were of these basic groups: the Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Oklahoma group, and the Sioux. These were the Indians with a long tradition of leadership and of some type of regional confederacy. There is a pattern that persists. For example, the only Indian BIA commissioners that we have had have been either Iroquois or, like Louis Bruce who is presently commissioner, part Iroquois. Bruce, appropriately, is also part Sioux. That is not an accident. Sioux people have frequently been major leaders in Pan-Indian movements and that is true now in the National Congress of American Indians. The Five Civilized Tribes also have a long tradition of running their own affairs. I think there is something cultural involved here. There were no Navajo or Hopi involved in any of these movements until after the New Deal.

Jim Garrett: Seemingly, Pan-Indianism developed about the same time as Pan-Africanism, Pan-Slavism and all the other pan-isms. Looking especially at Pan-Africanism and Pan-Indianism, haven't these movements depended upon the response of the power structure of the larger society? If that was the case, as far as the leadership was concerned (for example, Booker T. Washington, to whom you made reference), don't we have to take the context of the times into account as to who is defined as the leader?

Hertzberg: Any leader of any minority, including all the militant groups today which are not the only groups involved in minority affairs, gets sustenance from recognition by the larger society. But I do not think that Booker T. Washington or the leaders of the Society of American Indians were foisted on the populace. Washington led in a very different time. He had a message and a way of procedure which in the times he functioned seemed to work.

Slavs use the term Pan-Slav, Africans use the term Pan-African, but the Indians do not use the term Pan-Indian. I should have said that in the beginning. It is a problem because what you call yourself, or what people call you, is so important. Indians themselves do not use it, which is a tremendous disadvantage because one has to have a term and this seems to be a useful one. The only Indians who use the term Pan-Indian today are Indian scholars and some of the younger groups such as the National Indian Youth Council.

Merv Goldbas: Did the SAI have any policy about elementary school education?

Hertzberg: The Society of American Indians devoted a good deal of attention to education in its journal. They were, roughly speaking, progressives in education. The people in the Society of American Indians said they needed all kinds of education for their young people because they were going to do all types of things. They wanted vocational education, liberal arts education, public schools, and college. There was discussion about starting an Indian junior college by Arthur Parker and Fayette McKenzie, but it never came to anything.

If you read the journals, Indian education, although needing improvement, sounds much better than you would expect. For example, Carlisle, which was founded by General Pratt, was opposed to Indian culture. Pratt's slogan was "Kill the Indian and save the man." Yet Pratt was a loved person. He somehow must have really had something because Indians who were not shuffling around being ashamed of themselves thought very well of Pratt. When he died in 1924 his pall bearers included high officials of the Native American Church. You can imagine what Pratt's view of peyote was.

The head of Indian education under the New Deal was one of the most important progressive educators in the country, Wilfred Beatty. Under his direction Indian children were supposedly taught in Indian languages and there was supposedly an entire reform movement. But like most educational reform, it seems to have been more talked about than implemented.

Tony Gullo: Where do you draw the line between the kind of organization the Iroquois, the Five Civilized Tribes, and the Sioux established and the beginning of Pan-Indianism?

Hertzberg: Naturally these categories are for our convenience and there are often marginal cases. However, the cases you mentioned – the Iroquois, the Sioux – all of these people had a great deal in common culturally speaking. In these groups that have a similar culture, they either have the same language or a related language. That is the easiest kind of unity to get because there is so much going for you, so much that is alike. But what I am talking about are situations where you move beyond that, where you get tribal groups working together which do not have that basic common identity. These early movements' attempts at confederation or cooperation provide some cultural patterns from which to draw later on. But I do not consider them to be Pan-Indian. For example, when Brant, Pontiac, or Tecumseh and his brother attempted to organize, they organized Indians from a large variety of tribes much beyond one cultural group such as the Iroquois.

Delores Norman: One of the Indians speaking earlier mentioned that citizenship was not much of an advantage and that it was imposed upon Indians. However, you mentioned that citizenship was something that the Indian looked forward to.

Hertzberg: There was varied opinion among Indians about citizenship. The reform group was largely for it although they were more for it before 1920 than after. The fraternal people were for it. Many Indians were worried about it. They were afraid that it would jeopardize their title to the land. It was passed in such a way that it did not do that, however.

Larry Lazore: I would like to clarify a point about citizenship. I am a citizen of the Iroquois Confederacy which is a sovereign nation. In fact, I think the greatest opposition to the legislation in 1924 to make Indians United States citizens came from the Iroquois people.

The movement of Pan-Indianism is a movement of uniting all Indian peoples to fight off a common challenge and solve common problems that we have such as education and treaty rights. You mentioned the uniting of the Iroquois under the Tree of Peace to live together as one people, to live together in peace. We were not fighting for a cause, we were simply uniting for peace. Pan-Indianism is trying to organize to fight, say, government policies in education.

Hertzberg: I think that is more true of the reform type, but the others, the fraternal and religious, were not very interested in causes. To illustrate your point, the National Congress of American Indians somehow limps along but the point at which it gets strong is when there is some common danger like termination. When termination was proposed the NCAI got very active and very busy. Tribal groups were much more loyal to it at that time than when there was no danger.

Joan Cofield: During this period of history you have mentioned the elite, educated Indians with a stress on education. What about the masses of people on the reservations? Did they have any knowledge of these groups of people meeting? It seems to me that if you are going to have a movement, it is important to have the masses informed.

Hertzberg: They would have liked to have had the masses. This was a matter of controversy in the SAI in terms of where they were to hold their meetings. Parker and his group wanted to meet in colleges and universities. That is where most of the meetings were held. Hewitt and some other people wanted to meet on reservations in Indian country. The most successful meeting that the Society ever had was in Denver where there were many Western Indians involved. I should not give the impression that only educated people or well educated people were involved in this. That was the leadership. There were many people who got involved, for a while anyway, who were not well educated in the conventional non-Indian sense – tribal leaders, for example. But the Society was never able to reach what you call the Indian masses in any significant way, and I do not think the National Congress does either. That is hard to do. I really do not think that they were snobs. They were really attempting to serve in the best way they knew how and they did not think they were turning their backs to the reservation people at all. They felt they were helping.

Elizabeth Duran: You talked about the importance of the students at Carlisle. In one of our earlier sessions it was stated that most of the children who were sent there were orphans.

Hertzberg: That is not true. Carlisle was considered to be an elite school and people, particularly sons of chiefs, were eager, perhaps, if they went to school at all, to go there. I tried to indicate when I mentioned Carlisle the attitude that Pratt had toward Indian culture. People were kidnapped or were virtually kidnapped to go to Carlisle; that is true. Also, many people were sent there voluntarily and their parents brought them. People also ran away to Carlisle. Albert Hensley, an important leader among the Winnebago and an early leader of the peyote religion, ran away to Carlisle. There were many Iroquois at Carlisle. Personally, I had assumed Indians would hate Carlisle.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Ethnology and Ethnohistory as Tools for Penetrating and Interpreting the Past: the Case of the Iroquois

by William N. Fenton

My first impression in the 1930's when I lived with Jonas Snow and later Henry Redeye on the Allegany Reservation was that the ongoing culture of the reservation communities as it then existed seemed to have very little and quite dim relationship to what one reads in books and the colonial records of a much earlier people. There appeared to be two completely different worlds.

How one studies a culture and a society and how the living culture as it survives can be used to interpret the past, how those two worlds can be reconciled, are approaches to problems of cultural history that have concerned me of late. Ethnology and ethnohistory are tools made for penetrating and interpreting the past.

Ethnology is the science of customs. It is the study of cultural patterns as various customs are linked together in clusters among living societies. Its perspective is very much from the point of view of an ongoing social situation. It is necessary in discussing ethnology as a field of learning to make a distinction between cultures or ways of life, the way people live at any given moment, and the society in which they live. Societies are made up of those endless chains of mutual obligations and responsibilities that link individuals together. The way that those obligations are structured and the duty relationships understood are largely given by the tradition or culture of that particular society. Culture relates to the historical aspect of the accepted ways that are unconsciously maintained and defended. Society relates to an analysis of the relations between individuals and institutions which constitute a particular culture.

Ethnography is the study of cultures in time and space. We speak of the Navajo culture, the Sioux culture, and the various cultures of Africa; we are talking about the various systems that are maintained by living societies in various parts of the world and which can be mapped demographically and geographically. There is usually a close relationship between the cultural map and the ecological map in which that culture is found.

Now ethnohistory, as it has come to be understood in recent years, represents the application of principles of ethnological theory and method to the interpretation of cultural history. A maxim that operates in this area is: "We see what we know." The understandings that we have at any given point in time, which are derived from our observations and study of living societies, enable us to interpret the record that has been left by those societies as it was written down by

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other minds, in other places, and in other times. If we read the New York colonial documents (I remind you that these were written by scribes or secretaries like Robert Livingston in Albany who understood Dutch and English and who took down the words of Indian speakers as they were interpreted by people in the community – some of whom were Dutch, some of whom were half Dutch and half Mohawk. Bear in mind that only part of the picture is always coming through, but it is the best thing we have.) and if we use our understanding of the living cultures of Iroquois society and of the League of the Iroquois to reinterpret those documents, we gain a perspective on them that adds something to what the historian usually possesses. Ethnohistory then represents a plus for historiography – historiography being the systematic way that historians go about the study, reconstruction, and interpretation of the past.

"Upstreaming"

In the course of my study, I developed a technique to which I apply a term borrowed from Sir Flinders Petrie, an English pre-historian who worked in Egypt. He pointed out that one can excavate the tombs of the Pharaohs and that one can measure and map the pyramids, but that the living Egyptian people whom he employed were the only model he really had for understanding the inscriptions and interpreting what pre-dynastic Egypt must have been like. This technique, which he termed "upstreaming," does history backwards. It starts in the present, moves as far into the past as the record will allow, and interprets the past in terms of what makes sense. One starts with something he knows, steps back to the observations of someone else who preceeded him (and who is judged to be a fairly competent observer because what he says makes sense), and continues back to successively earlier observers. In this fashion, the existence of several institutions, traditionally known only through the oral history of living people, can be documented at given points of time over a period of two or three hundred years. The problem with this approach is that cultures change constantly. As great revolutions occur in ways of life, the style and design of these cultures change. For example, all of us have some understanding of English history. If you visit and live for a time in an English village in Essex, however, you gain a perspective on the nature of peasant life in the Middle Ages that you cannot possibly have learned simply from reading about it. The hazards of this upstreaming approach are twofold: the assumption that major institutions do not change over time, and the tendency to read more into the past than actually existed. One has to balance the two and make a judgement. Otherwise one is guilty of the fallacy of "presentism."

Any approach to a scholarly field rests not only on definitions such as have been outlined above, but it is also important to rid our minds of preconceptions and biases in order that we can perceive things more clearly. Today I am primarily concerned with the question of ethnicity.

Being "white," being in the New World as a descendent of settlers who have been here for 300 years gives me no special perspective on the English language, the traditions of colonial America which I have heard about all my life, or on such subjects which involved some of my forebears. If having "white" genes were important, it should have given me some insight into these things that perhaps someone else would not have. It simply is not so. If you have not studied something, if you have not really worked at it, if you have not really internalized it, you simply do not know about it. Having grown up in an Indian community as a descendant of one of the Iroquoian peoples, the Native American possesses a sympathy and understanding of the society in which he lives that enables him to interpret the past in a way that a non-Indian, even one who has lived there temporarily like myself, cannot have. But this understanding comes from common bonds of human relationship, not through the bloodstream.

The Indian as Savage

Another bogy that needs clarification is the term "savage." People are "hung-up" on this term and it has a meaning now that it never originally had, and at least it ought to be made explicit. Savage in English means uncivilized or at least outside of the mainstream of civilization. It was first used in Middle English and became popular in 18th century England as derived from the French *sauvage* which means much the same thing. There is a distinction made in the years preceeding the Enlightenment, the 17th and 18th centuries, when it encompassed all peoples who were non-Christian and who were on the margin of society. It was very much like the Greek *barbar* or barbarians. But originally it was derived from the Latin word *silvaticus* which simply means "people who live in the woods." A savage, therefore, was simply someone who lived in the woodlands. He was a hunting person who lived outside the margin of the European civilization. That was all it meant. Of late years, however, it has acquired a pejorative usage and meaning which has annoyed people and which need not. Savage (and especially *sauvage* in Canada) became a generic word for the Indian people.

The Indian and Scalping

Two other contentions of a historical nature need to be considered. Lately, I have been reading in the *Indian Historian* and journals like *Akwesasne Notes* that good Indians did not scalp, burn, or eat their captives aboriginally. This is like saying that in medieval England they did not behead or torture people. These are matters of fact. As human beings we would like to erase such elements from the past no matter what tradition we come from. But the record is there; it is inescapable. In 1603 when Champlain came to the St. Lawrence River at a place near Tadoussac, Quebec, he spent a night at an Algonquin camp. Algonquin warriors returned from a war party to the Mohawk country, down the Iroquois or Richilieu River somewhere in New York State, with the scalps of Indians. Scalping did occur in other parts of the world. North of the Black Sea in Asia Minor lived the Scyths, a nomadic horse people, who, as reported by Herodotus, in pre-Christian times kept scalps and took the heads of their enemies as trophies. To take scalping away from the Indians of the Northeast is like taking away any of their other customs. It was simply something that they did. The record is abundant. They probably had ample and good reasons for doing it.

The Iroquois Confederacy and the U.S. Constitution

Fourthly, one reads that the United States Constitution was modeled on the constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy. This is a long, long story. To raise this question is not to deny the validity of the argument at all, but simply to point out the nature of the contact and the nature of the influence. A significant portion of the U.S. Constitution is straight out of the political philosophers of the 18th century, like John Locke, whom Jefferson and other framers of the document read. To be certain, on several occasions speakers of the Iroquois Confederacy attended meetings which brought the colonies together for the first time. It was this contact with the Iroquois Confederacy that really united the colonies in the sense that they had to form some compact in order to deal with the "Indian problem" on the frontier. It was the League of the Iroquois that was held up to the colonists as a model by an Onondaga speaker, Canassatego, at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, when he said:

> We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend Union and good Agreement between you and our Brethren. We never disagree, but preserve a strict Friendship for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become *stronger*. Our wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the *Five Nations*; this has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighbouring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and, by your observing the same Methods our wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh Strength and Power; therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another.[1]

Benjamin Franklin, who printed the Treaty of Lancaster, admired the Iroquois Confederation and used this argument as a weapon to whip his colleagues into line. In an early discussion of the need for union among the colonies, he wrote:

> It would be a strange thing if Six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner as that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluable; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests.[2]

The other important fact is that most of the framers of the Constitution of the United States had cut their diplomatic teeth in relations with the Indians. They had learned protocol, they had learned negotiation in their dealings with people of another culture at a series of Indian and colonial meetings that were held at Albany, at Onondaga, at Philadelphia and elsewhere.

It can be demonstrated that the so-called "Constitution of the Five Nations" as a printed document is indeed not old. But it is an old oral document that has been modified over a period of time to suit the exigencies or the problems that the Iroquois people were facing. Every word in the Newhouse manuscript of that document, which Arthur Parker edited and published in 1916, certainly does not go back to a period much before its compilation, ca. 1880.

So much for some of the things necessary to clear the mat and to preface my remarks about the nature of Indian culture in the woodlands of the Northeast at the time of contact.

The homeland of the Iroquois is an area – called "this old island" or *Wendat e'hen* – conceived as formed on the back of a turtle that was swimming in the primordial sea. It is a long cosmological myth that relates the story of twin brothers, Flint and Sapling. It relates to the environment that was left by the Creator for man to use and enjoy and that was peopled by things put here for his assistance.

This whole area that runs from Georgian Bay in Canada down into central New York around Lake Ontario and Lake Erie is one vegetational and geographical unit. It is an area characterized originally by a birch-beech-maple forest with conifers in the uplands; such trees as the elm, hemlock, and the chestnut grew in the bottoms. These trees were extremely important to the people who lived there and used them for their economy. One important distinction in this environment is the presence of what I call the birch-elm line. Central New York, inhabited by the peoples of the Iroquois Confederacy, south of the line which runs from Ticonderoga to the Adirondacks and crosses at about the Thousand Islands and then runs up the Canadian Shield north of Georgian Bay, did not grow birch trees of sufficient girth to afford sheets of bark from which canoes could be made. Interestingly enough, this line is also the line that marks the northern limit for the growth of maize and its related garden vegetables – corn, beans, and squash. This line delimits an isotherm south of which there are a minimum of 120 frost-free days in the summer necessary for the maturation of corn. This is important because it enables an economy of maize horticulture. Maize is extremely productive. Indians could get anywhere from 20 to 40 bushels per acre. The creation of a surplus of corn allowed the people to subsist in rather large villages over several months of the year and to alternate village life with hunting in the fall and fishing in the spring.

Outside of the Iroquoian world which included the Huron Nation near Georgian Bay, the peoples north of the St. Lawrence River lived by hunting and constantly traveling in birch bark canoes in summer and on snow shoes drawing toboggans in winter. Development of this mobile life, where man is dependent upon the habits of game for subsistence, resulted in a sparse population in contrast with the density of population in the village world of the Five Nations (Iroquoia) and Huronia.

Cultures move on their stomachs. There is a definite relationship between the size of a society and the kinds of institutions that begin to develop. Unless a guarantee of being able to subsist over the winters and the periods when game was not plentiful is forth coming, village life does not develop, large confederacies do not develop, and states do not develop.

Most peoples have some way of viewing their own history and of periodizing it, of segregating it in terms of great events that have happened in the past. Anyone who comes from outside the Indian world – and certainly I consider myself an outsider even though I lived with Indian people for a time, listened to the old men in a period when their young people would not listen to them, and heard them view their own history and recall the glory of their past – discovers the remarkable consistency and memory of the oral tradition owing to the ability of old people to recall what has been passed down verbatim from generation to generation. Some of these instances can be documented by other historical methods which demonstrate their veracity. For example, the origins of the Handsome Lake vision are set at a time in the Berry Moon at a place called *Jonoñhsadegen* on the Allegheny River. This is not remarkable to Indian people who believe this and who have heard it all their lives from the preachers of the *Gaiwaiio* – the Handsome Lake vision or the "Good Message." But it is remarkable, certainly, outside the Indian world where memories run short that this is told as it actually occurred. If proof were necessary, it is forthcoming in the records of the Quaker missionaries who were there at the time and who were compulsive and habitual journal keepers. In the journals of Henry Simmons, Halliday Jackson, and Joel Swain you actually find a record of how in May or June of 1799, Handsome Lake, who was the half-brother of Cornplanter, had this vision and made these pronouncements. Indian people, particularly accomplished speakers of the Longhouse, can remember these long streams of verbal information which those of us who teach in universities and have a responsibility for transmitting the cultural heritage would not presume to do without reference to notes or other props. It is an extraordinary feat. I admire the men who have internalized these tremendous oral documents and can give them in a way that satisfies their peers. All this is a very important facet for the reconstruction of history.

Three Great Iroquois Prophets

As the oral historians periodize their history, first comes the time of Sapling or the Creation. Second comes the message of Deganawidah* who formed the League. The last great event in Iroquois cultural history is the vision of Handsome Lake which introduced the period of adjustment to the loss of their lands, the decline in the size of their society, and all of the terrible catastrophes that befell them after the American Revolution. We are concerned today with the second prophet who brought the great message of Peace, Justice and Power which comprises the Great Binding Law that enabled the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy.

When one reads these documents of the Longhouse and analyzes them, one feels that this is a society and a culture that is attuned to prophets, and that these prophets were men of great intellect, men of really great minds who looked at the situation at a given point in time, reorganized the culture around some new principles, and gave the people a charter for going on. It is rather interesting that the Iroquois tradition sees these calamities and solutions to calamities in their own past and recognizes the fact that things have not always been the same, that the Iroquois have changed, and that they are going to change in the future. The fact that we have such a strong incidence of Iroquois culture today in Indian communities, and intense feelings about it, is a tribute to the sheer ability of these people to adapt to circumstances as they find them.

Documenting the Oral History

At the turn of the century the system of life chiefs on the Six Nations Reserve in Canada was threatened by a reform movement within the Indian society that sought to throw out life chiefs and install elected chiefs. It ultimately resulted in an act of confiscation by the Canadian government and the installation of an elected council which has never really enjoyed the confidence of all the Indian people. These documents were written in a time of stress in an effort to make explicit to themselves and to outsiders the nature and origin of the Iroquois government and the traditions and ceremonies for the installation of chiefs.†

Several other less comprehensive versions of the legend were done in the late 1800's. However, there are still earlier versions. Joseph Brant outlined the plot and the sketch of the myth in an interview with a missionary named Elkanah Holmes in 1804. Quite recently the published journals of John Norton, who was part Cherokee and part Scottish and who lived among the Mohawks at the Six Nations Reserve for about 15 years, disclose a long account of the myth which confirms elements in later versions. The earliest known documented version dates from 1745 and was collected by John Christopher Pyrlaeus, a Moravian missionary, among the Mohawks.[3]

If you look at the myth as a literary document and analyze it into its structural parts (of course in doing this it loses much of its glory and it is a great literary document), every version is different; but every version also has agreements in the main themes. It is segregated into three main parts. The first is the myth of Deganawidah himself and the conversion of a man named Hiawatha. The second part relates to the tradition of the founding of the League – how the chieftainships were apportioned, the names of the fifty chiefs, how they were installed, what clans they belonged to, and the liturgy of installation. Finally, the last third of it is the by-laws – the decisions arrived at in the past by the League as a government that were remembered and later written down as decisions in council. This part is the constitution.

Another aspect of the League which adds greatly to the beauty of the mythology and to the traditions surrounding it is the symbolism: the Great Pine or the Great Tree that stands in the center of the Earth; the four White Roots of Peace extending in the cardinal directions; various things that happen when people chop at the roots of the Tree; people following the roots of the Tree to the source where the Tree stands and shelters the Council with concentric rings of Chiefs, Warriors, women, and the public; and the Confederacy as an extended house sheltering related families.

How Old is the League?

How old the League is I will not pretend to say; I frankly do not know. The archeological record which has lately been established through the work of James Tuck in the pre-Onondaga sites in central New York indicates that it could have been much earlier than we used to think. It was thought by historians at one point to be a response to white contact. I do not think so. It was there, it was strengthened by the nature of that contact, and both the Indians and the colonies used each other in that situation. It is one of those problems that cannot be resolved because the data are not there. Someone had adduced some evidence from eclipses, but the Ray Fadden version of that eclipse episode comes from a single source and has not been replicated by anyone else. It is not in any of the longer texts.

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* Each "word" or article of the epic starts: "And then Deganawidah said . . ." The current preference that he only be referred to as "the Peacemaker" is of recent origin. [For discussion on this point please see page 115. – Ed.]

† I cannot possibly begin to relate the legend of the Longhouse the way the chiefs tell it. I do not have the words inside me. But I have worked from phonetic texts taken down by two previous scholars from the mouth of a single analyst, and with the help of bilingual interpreters I have translated the two longest versions into English. Both versions were by Chief John Arthur Gibson, an Onondaga speaker who held one of the Seneca titles in the League at the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. He dictated one version of the epic to J.N.B. Hewitt, the Tuscarora scholar who preceeded me at the Smithsonian, in 1899, and a second version to Alexander Goldenweiser in 1912, the year the old chief died. Having translated the first text with Simeon Gibson in 1941, I completed the translation of the second document with the late Howard Sky only last year.

The institutions of the League are certainly very old. The enumeration of the Five Nations themselves as a government appears in the first document by Dutch visitors to the Mohawk Valley in 1635. In that manuscript the Mohawk words are there and one can recognize them as such. Discrepancies in the printed versions can be cleared up because, if one recognizes names of the Five Nations like Oneida, Onondaga, Kanyengehaga (for Mohawk) and the others, it is quite evident that the Five Nations were confederated at that time. To people who know this tradition it is nothing remarkable, but it may be important to know that there are other proofs.

Intelligent governors saw the wisdom of employing the League for their own ends and they sought to strengthen it. Not only did the colonial powers, both French and English, recognize the strength of the League and that it was a bulwark between them and all the hostile tribes elsewhere, but it was also a network through which the fur trade could be structured and it was a buffer that either side could use to fend off the other. The English colony seldom raised many troops. The Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas took the losses that were necessary to keep the French from controlling New York State for most of the 17th century. (The Iroquois also suffered enormous losses through epidemics of small pox, measles, and other diseases introduced by the whites.) The League was a model that had to be recognized, it had to be dealt with. Throughout most of its history, the League could muster some 2200 warriors. Multiply that by four or five in good years to estimate the size of the society. Probably there are as many living descendents in New York today as there were when they were first known.

There are endless problems of an historical nature in this tradition. The League has been continually evolving. I count it a great privilege to have devoted most of my life trying to understand it. I do not pose as any authority on the subject; I am constantly learning. I would welcome criticism, differences of view, and certainly questions as to what you would like to explore.

So these are my words.

DISCUSSION

Irving Powless: You referred repeatedly to the formation of the League as a myth.

Fenton: I said the legend of the Longhouse is an epic myth in the great sense. By myth I do not mean something that did not happen, but something that people believe did happen. It extends back before the memory of man. It consists structurally of three parts. The first part relates to the birth and mighty doings of a prophet named Deganawidah and his conversion of Hiawatha. Then there is a big volume of material relating to the traditions. This is the memory of man; I have been trying to distinguish that from myth. A third section deals with mechanisms of the League itself.

Art Einhorn. By that definition, would you put the Christ story in that same category?

Fenton: Yes.

Lloyd Elm: It bewilders me to understand how after the length of time that you have studied the Great Law with Longhouse people, presumably as thoroughly as you possibly could, you never heard or maybe never acknowledged the fact that part of the Great Law is that people with respect for it do not use the Peacemaker's name as you have been using it today.

Fenton: You mean Deganawidah? What should one say?

Elm: The Peacemaker; that is how we refer to him. In all those years no one ever told you that you are not to use the Peacemaker's name? That he told us that there were only certain special occasions, not in casual conversation, when we were to use that name?

Fenton: At the very end of the legend when he departs he says his name should be remembered but not used. All of the old men with whom I worked on the Six Nations Reserve – men like David Thomas, Chief Joe Logan, Chief Alex General, or Deskaheh – always referred to him as Deganawidah and never as the Peacemaker, per se. Every paragraph of the epic commences: "Now at that time Deganawidah said . . ." I never heard this before. I am grateful.

Oren Lyons: Earlier you discussed sources which are mostly written documents from which you base your judgements and which establish in your mind the existence of the Iroquois League. Most all of your case rests on this documentation.

Fenton: This is the first documentary substantiation. I read those documents, however, in terms of the tradition, in terms of the oral history, and I interpret those documents through what I have learned of oral history.

Lyons: I listened carefully as you went along and I understood finally at the end that you do not know when the League began.

Fenton: No, I do not know when it began. Actually it began at some earlier time on which I would not attempt to put a precise date. I simply do not know.

Powless: Are you going to take the 1570 date out of the history books?

Fenton: The 1570 date is based on a judgement that J.N.B. Hewitt made on the work of Pyrlaeus, the Moravian missionary who was in the Mohawk Valley. Pyrlaeus was told by a Mohawk chief living in 1745 that it was formed one generation before the coming of the white people. The Dutch arrived in what is now Albany in 1609. Allowing 30 years for a generation, Hewitt inferred the 1570 date was proper. Horatio Hale, who worked both at Onondaga and among the Mohawks and Onondagas at Middleport, posited the year 1450. For a long time people thought that was too early. The archeological record of your own people's past certainly makes an earlier date permissible. I simply do not know.

Lyons: It seems to us that the inference is that the Five Nations or the Six Nations could not exist until the white man came. So everything seems to come after the coming of the white man. Would it not be in the interest of accuracy to remove the date?

Fenton: It would be better to say that we simply do not know. In my writing on Iroquois history I point out that putting a precise date on these things is impossible.

Lyons: Another point – the savages. Semantics. The people who were on the frontier and who called the Indians savages did not intend that we were just people who lived in the woods. When they say savages they meant people that ravaged their people. If you had talked to any frontiersman he certainly would not have thought that these people just lived in the woods.

Fenton: The thing I was trying to point out was that these words have a history, that they change, and that their meanings change from time to time. During that period you must understand what was going on in your world and what was going on in Europe. From the point of view of the European, all civilized people were people in the Christian tradition. Anybody else was outside. The original meaning of the word barbarism in Greece was anybody who did not live in Athens which was where the civilized Greeks lived.

Whether or not these terms ever got taken up and used in a denigrating sense, and certainly you are correct in your view of "savage" that developed in those contact years, I simply want to point out that it always was not so; these words themselves have a history and their meanings change. When a word has its meaning altered and it becomes loaded with emotional tone, it simply has to be dropped out of usage. That is why in translating Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains* (1724) I certainly was not going to put in the title page "Customs of the American Savage." I call it *Customs of the American Indian*. I do not think that he meant it in a denigrating sense because he said that these are not people without a government, without laws, without customs. That was the whole point of his book. He pointed out that their customs were no more outlandish than those of the people of ancient cultures to whom he compared them. The whole perspective of anthropology on the relativity of customs is that one has to respect the customs of the people. But this does not prevent one from looking at them critically.

Elm: I tried to find someplace where you mentioned how we did record our history relative to the wampum belt. Your presentation was totally void of the wampum belts. I would like you to explain to these people that there is a recorded history in the wampum belts.

Fenton: One of the ways that Indian people propped up their memories was by reference to mnemonic devices, that is, memory assistants. These vary from notches cut in sticks, to kernels of corn that are laid out in patterns, to pegs that are arranged in a sequence according to a diagram on a cane, and to symbols that are woven into belts that are made from the shells of a clam.[4]

At various transactions each speech of serious purpose was documented at the end of the speech by the conveyance of a belt into which had been woven some design which would later assist people to recall the words. When a group was on the receiving end, they appointed an individual at the time that a transaction was made to preserve the memory of the transaction. Later, in council, this would be related. This use of a memory device, with the ability to listen and to internalize long strings of verbal information, gave them the ability to recall these transactions with the appropriate belt.

Some experiments have been done on learning theory by a psychologist named Bower at Stanford University.[5] According to Bower's theory of the operation of the human mind, verbal information is stored in one side of the brain and manual information is stored in the other. When the two are learned together they are mutually fortifying. If you learn a spatial relationship and a verbal message simultaneously, you can recall one or the other much better afterwards. Whether this is the way earlier events were recollected through the "reading" of the wampum belt is a matter I cannot demonstrate. Bower's theory says that when the design becomes separated from the verbal scheme after a period of years, you may be able to recall the verbal scheme but to actually associate it with the spatial design is another matter.

For a couple of years I spent a great deal of time trying to understand the operation of the condolence cane and the Roll Call of Iroquois Chiefs.[6] The whole business of how this design was used and how the information was recalled I never satisfactorily cleared up in my own mind. But I do remember the statement of one of the abler ritualists who said he always carried the cane when he recited the Roll Call both on the road and in the Longhouse. He took one look at it before he started and he could shut his eyes and never look at it again. He had learned the chant and he did not need the cane. It was simply a prop, like a ceremonial mace of office. It was part of his status and role at that time. I think that whatever learning may be involved and what it is we can learn from this example may be involved also in the recollection of material that was originally documented in any wampum belt.

The real issue or question on which we need some enlightenment is whether after a long period of time, when the designs on the belts have been separated from the verbal stream, it is still correct to say the wampum belt is "read," or whether the recollection is the result of a highly internalized oral tradition.

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Native American Studies Committee Recommendations

Preface

It is the consensus of the Committee on Native American Studies that all institutions of higher education should seriously examine their academic programs for omissions of content about Native Americans. Such omissions represent a flagrant intellectual dishonesty that must be corrected at the earliest opportunity.

The Committee further agreed that the role of Native Americans in the history of mankind must be considered in a world-wide context and not as an ethnic or "minority group" study. When taking a comparative religion course, for example, students should learn about the various religions of Native Americans as well as those of Asians, Africans, and Europeans. When taking music courses, students should learn about the contributions of Native Americans to the world of music as well as those of the French, German, English and other identifiable groups. Similarly, in courses on comparative government, Native American political structures should be understood in comparison with pre-Christian European concepts, monarchy, modern "isms," and so on. In other words, scholars in all areas of academia must revise their studies to allow Native Americans their rightful place in the history of man.

Beyond this, institutions of higher education should seriously consider the inclusion of specific courses about Native Americans in their curriculums. As we enter the '70's, Americans have come to realize that the melting pot theory, or the dream of complete assimilation of peoples of diverse backgrounds into an amorphous "new man" comprising a monolithic society, is not only mythological but not even desirable. We should aim, rather, for a compatible pluralistic society. With this philosophy we can preserve and revitalize a large variety of cultural heritages which will enhance our education and enrich us all.

Specific courses in Native American studies, therefore, should be taught to both Indian and non-Indian students. If a college decides to commit itself to the education of Indian students, however, the Committee advises that the school combine an academic department of Native American studies with a supportive Native American program which includes counseling, housing, family and reservation liaisons, and social and cultural programs. The program at Dartmouth College is considered by the Committee to be an acceptable model.

Whether or not the institution takes on the education of Native American students, however, it must be committed in, both dollars and philosophy when offering Native American studies. The allocation of at least one faculty position and the provision of "hard monies" for operational costs is essential.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations for course development leading to the establishment of a Native American studies department.

Members of the Native American Studies Committee: Elizabeth Duran, Sue Kister, and Dolores Norman.

1) A "first course" in Native American studies should be of the precontact period.

After an anthropological overview, this course should concentrate on the cultures of many tribes as transmitted through oral tradition. Religious beliefs and values, and social, economic, and political organizations should be understood in a humanistic rather than a scientific perspective.

2) Courses of study in Native American languages are recommended.

One of the strongest components in Native American cultures has been language. To understand the people, a student should have a knowledge of at least one Native American language.

3) When a college is located in a state which has a Native American population, it is recommended that the college offer a course or courses about the Native Americans of that state.

At Bemidji State College in Minnesota, for example, there is a course entitled "History of the Indians of the Upper Midwest."

4) Native American art, music, and dance comprise a valuable course offering which could be cross-listed under other departments in the college.

5) The contemporary life of the Native American is an important area of study.

This course should consider, among other topics, Indian law and treaty rights, tribes and the federal government, the reservation system, Indian education, and the plight of urban Indians.

6) A practical course to prepare Native Americans for the problems and challenges of bicultural life is recommended.

Training in practical political skills to deal with bureaucratic agencies, boards of education, etc., will be of value to the Native American.

7) Students should be able to major in Native American studies.

Since the Committee recommends a department of Native American studies as a legitimate academic discipline, the committee cannot find any reason why a student could not major in Native American studies. Some critics have suggested that it would not prepare him for an occupation. Public school teaching, however, seems to be an obvious profession for a student with a B.A. in Native American studies. If a student goes on to graduate school in any number of professional areas such as law or social work, he will have an appropriate undergraduate education which will be highly relevant in his continuing studies and eventual vocation.

8) The chairman or director of a Native American studies department or program must be carefully chosen.

Preferably, the director should be of Native American descent. In any case, he must be sensitive to Native American culture, and acceptable to both Indian and non-Indian communities.

9) Native American scholars should be recruited to teach courses in Native American studies.

Institutions should make every effort to staff a faculty with Native American people. However, in an ecumenical spirit, it should find non-Indian professors acceptable, too.

Visiting Native American lecturers are recommended and the utilization of knowledgeable elders is also desirable. Native Americans should be considered to teach Native American language courses regardless of their formal academic background. Their remuneration should be equal to that of credentialed professors.

Where there is no independent department of Native American studies, professors who teach courses in that area should be given concurrent or joint appointments in the department that represents their field of concentration.

10) A collection of unbiased materials for teaching Native American studies is recommended.

Books, periodicals, newspapers, films, and tapes should be selected by authorities in the fields. A library or media resource center should acquire a core collection of quality items based on annotated bibliographies reviewed by scholars in the area of Native American studies.

The Native American Studies Committee is aware of ongoing Native American studies programs in various institutions across the country. We could not examine or evaluate these programs, but we do recommend that a compilation and evaluation of all existing programs be made.

DISCUSSION

Dolores Norman: In the Bemidji State program for the training of aides for the Indian schools, the key to the success of the program was staffing it with Indian people from the community who had the ability to talk about the culture and teach the language.

Betsy Auleta: One thing that I am afraid of in minority group programs, particularly programs like the Educational Opportunity Program where a legislature passed a bill, allocated some money, and suddenly there are 400 black students on campus, is the popularity of developing a "quickie" black studies program or a "quickie" Indian studies program or whatever. The school thinks it is fulfilling its commitment to the students.

The black students are naturally attracted to the black studies program. One reason is the content, the other reason is the school hires black faculty to teach the courses and the students feel more comfortable with the black faculty. But that is the only place the black faculty is – the black studies area. The black student coming to college is going to feel more comfortable going into these courses. But the counselors do not talk with the students enough about what they are going to do with a B.A. in black studies. There are some areas for which that degree is fine, but there are limitations. The counselors have to be aware of the dangers of programming minority group students into minority group studies and not doing anything about changing the school's curriculum so that the minority students relate more to the courses and the professors outside of the minority studies area.

These quickie programs are now "fulfilling" the school's commitment, keeping the lid on by making the blacks and Indian students happy, but it is a dangerous educational policy to set.

Norman: A number of times in our workshop conversations the Indian people pointed out that the courses making up the Indian studies program should be parts of existing programs; they should come from sociology history, religion, and music. The students should have the option to take those things that they want. Our consultants were extremely emphatic on the point that the courses should have a strong academic character. It is not the type of thing that you will develop in two or three months. The program at Dartmouth has been in development for three years. They have a core of four courses, and it has moved very slowly. The important thing now is to establish principles. If and when Mike and Stu leave Dartmouth, they want that program to remain, and that is the operational approach that they are taking right now.

Auleta: You have to remember that it is a real cop-out for the faculty and the college as a whole to sit back as soon as the minority studies program has been instituted and not do their own research. I understand that the black students are now beginning to see this at Oswego. They are boycotting, or they are refusing to turn in their papers to professors in their classes, because professors are using the black students as research material. What happens is that a student writes a paper on adolescent psychology from a black perspective. The professor says, "Out of sight. I'm going to take it and put it in the curriculum." This one particular student finally said, "I'm a junior. I've been doing this for professors for three years now. What I'll give you is my bibliography." He ripped off the bibliography, handed it to the professor, and told him if he wanted to teach this, to go read the books.

Sue Kister: This is outside the black studies program?

Auleta: Which is where, I think, the work has to be done. The professors that only know white history have got to stop depending on minority studies to handle non-white history.

Kister: Personally, I can't see what is wrong with Native Americans or blacks taking a full program in their culture, because I would think it would reinforce one's identity and be a very valuable thing. Furthermore, a B.A. in anything else is no good, either, unless you enter a masters program afterward. It does not matter what you take as an undergraduate.

Arliss Barss: I wanted to get some Indian tutors for some students at the Cooperative College Center. The director told me to contact the Native American Cultural Awareness Organization at the University of Buffalo to use their students from the Native American studies program. They sent some students for me to interview. Indian to Indian we ran into problems. First of all, I will have to tell you that our curriculum at CCC is four liberal arts courses plus reading. We do not teach Native American studies in our school, but we do have team teaching where the teachers incorporate Indian literature into the reading, social studies, or whatever. These students who applied for the tutoring jobs did not know anything about anything except Indian studies. One was a graduate student at the University of Buffalo. We needed a tutor in math and science at the time. She was not equipped to handle that. She could not tutor elementary level science or math on the 9th and 10th grade level. I asked her about English and she said that her grammar was poor and her composition work wasn't up. I said we are teaching American history and she said the only thing she was really qualified to teach was Indian history. This happened with all the students. I was not able to accept any of these students because they were not going to be tutoring just Indians, but black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and white students. These students have said to me that the only thing they can do is teach Native American studies. But they have to go to a school that offers it. I know two who are in jeopardy as far as being employable. They find that they specialize too much and that white society is not offering those jobs. Possibly that could be remedied. You have opened up some more areas that I had not realized were possible working in social welfare for instance.

Robert Wells: Does every institution that tries to work with Indian students principally on an undergraduate basis have to have a Native American studies program? Suppose the institution has two thousand or more students, and it has 30 or 40 Native Americans.

Elizabeth Duran: At Niagara University there are eight or ten Indian students. We are a school of somewhat more than 2000. We have about 70 black students. They do have a black student union, they do have black art festivals and we have certain courses in black history, black literature, and so forth. On the human rights council, of course, they predominate. They had suggested an Indian student organization. There was one Indian girl who laughed and said, "Our student organization is on the reservation. We live so close. Who needs to organize?" So I think it depends on the numbers and if the students are far away from home.

Auleta: I am totally in favor of Native American studies, black studies, or courses being instituted in different departments, and I am totally in favor of giving the students the kind of education they want, in terms of content and things like that. But I have a theory that the institutions themselves, the total institution, is not going to be reevaluated and the faculty is not going to be reevaluating the material that they use in their courses. What institutions are going to do is just try and do a little piecemeal thing where you stick a black studies program over here and an Indian studies program over here. Faculty will say, "Leave my course alone, don't do anything to it; don't make me do any extra research or reading, because if you want to know that go take it over to the black studies program or the Indian studies program." It seems that we are going to be training all black students at Oswego (they are almost all EOP students) to be EOP directors and tutor-counselors, because those are the role models they have on the campus. The black professional people on the campus are either totally involved in black studies or they are administrating the EOP program; they are not deans, they are not teaching other literature or history courses. The people who are politically hip to what goes on in their institution should be very careful about the reasons that people give for simply tying together an Indian studies program or black studies program, because I think in some cases it is a cop-out.

Tony Gullo: There is a very important point that I as a member of a community college would like to reinforce in your report. I do not ever see the day when the Native American studies program will be in most community colleges; there are only so many faculty, we have got only two years, and we do not have junior or senior year courses. One of the things that has happened at our school is that American history teachers have begun to use some books about Native Americans to complement the teaching of American history. One of the teachers is using *The Long Death*. It is the first time they have ever used a book that dealt only with Indians. The student evaluation demonstrated how much the white students in the class appreciated the use of that book. A number of white students went to the professor of sociology who teaches a course on minority community studies and asked him why in community studies all that they talked about were the problems that existed in the black community. What has happened in the Indian community is just as relevant a part of the Niagara frontier.

You do not have to create a new course. The courses that are already in existence, like American history courses, like sociology, can give the Native American his just due with the introduction of new materials. You can create new courses, but you can make inroads with the existing courses as well.

You have to do it on a person to person level. The people who are interested must go to the departments that teach those courses and suggest these changes, and if you have to clout them on the head, you clout them on the head. But you hope you do not have to get to that stage.

Steve Adolphus: There can be leadership by a department chairman who is really concerned. For instance, if he considers part of the curriculum to be just consideration of the role of the Indian, he can have it introduced in his department's basic history course.

Norman: The first two quarters that I taught the Indian history course last year the white students took it. In the third quarter, which was enrollment for special services, there were 35 Indians and about seven white students. It is a very difficult thing to teach Indian history to someone who is not an Indian. When I had 35 Indian students the white students did not come because they couldn't take it. It really bothered them. One student came to me and said, "You are anti-white." They heard things they had never heard before. I teach the record. But there are emotional overtones. When the majority or even a third were white students they reinforced each other. But when there were only seven, the student who had complained said, "They all look at us so funny."

Lyman Pierce: I have found it difficult to teach both Indian and non-Indians in the same course. Maybe in upper level courses when they get over the initial shock they may feel a little different. I think it is tougher on the teacher when he has a mixed audience.

Wells: In terms of scholarship and in terms of the discipline's integrity, do we have to wait for Indian historians who are produced from a mixed system to right the record before the record can be integrated into the history, or can white people who are empathetic and knowledgeable participate? On whom do we place the primary responsibility and whom do we believe?

Pierce: Native Americans have gotten "hot." Textbooks are coming out written by non-Native Americans. Some of them are just no good. Some are compilations, people are just throwing things together. Because of the many bad books, there ought to be a moratorium until we get the Native American point of view, and then we can compare them. Maybe we cannot be good historians about ourselves, maybe we cannot write about ourselves within our own century or the recent past. The criticism I'll make about scholarship is that presently we're locked into our discipline. This is my objection to anthropology. They're locked into their formal training. I think Sol Tax is an example. He was locked into his formal training for 30 years. He supposedly had the criteria, methodology, and discipline to get at the essence of another culture, yet it is only now that he can say, "I understand the Native American." Until you become acculturated as a Native American, I don't think you can write about us correctly. It is the constant exposure. You've been asking me to learn and become acculturated to Europe, now I'm telling you to acculturate to the Native Americans. There's a gap, and I'm not sure that you can cross it simply through formal training in the discipline.

Wells: What you're saying is that, all things being equal, because you are an Indian you will be able to write a better history of your people in the long run.

Pierce: In the volume of *Social Education* devoted to Native Americans, Hazel Hertzberg said that the Indian historian can be as biased as anyone else. I'm only saying that we see things differently.

As historians, maybe we need to feel more. Maybe we need to understand that we haven't treated history in a human fashion, that we have been so objective that we haven't brought in the subjective side in a balanced way.

Ida Headley: I don't think history is objective. As long as it is written by a human being history will be subjective. I think it is a matter of looking at how different people view the same incident, studying the overview, and trying to pull out of it what you can.

Adolphus: For the last 70 or 100 years the American social sciences – anthropology, sociology – have acted largely as if contributing to the sum total of human knowledge is a good in itself. It seems to me that that is what most of PhDism is about. It seems to me that the social scientist who cannot both look for the truth as he sees it and acknowledge that it is not the only truth, who cannot do research in the service of something more than adding to the total knowledge, is derelict in his duty as a historian, anthropologist, or sociologist. His first duty is not to the discipline, I think it is to the people he studies.

Pierce: All I'm trying to say is that there are some limitations to non-Indian scholarly pursuits at this time because you do not understand us. Until our story is told and the comparison is made with your version of history, we should be careful of saying that because we have a methodology and criteria to study certain things, we are therefore able to get at its essence for a group of people that have as yet been misunderstood.

Summary

In addition to those speakers represented at length in this report, the Institute on the American Indian Student in Higher Education was served by several additional resource people who provided important background material, case histories, and other supplemental information. In several cases field trips were utilized to meet with Indian people in their own environment.

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Two trips to the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, a trip to Ray Fadden's Six Nations Indian Museum, and one trip to the North American Indian Club, located in the City of Syracuse, New York, and the Onondaga Reservation just south of that city played a role in developing a sense for the way the Indian looks at himself, his culture, and the society around him.

At St. Regis the participants were shown the diversity of reservation interests. Minerva White hosted the Institute on a tour of the Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center and the Mohawk public elementary school. At the Center Tracy Johnson displayed some of his art work and gave a brief talk on the false face masks used in the traditional False Face Society. A visit to the lacrosse factory and a short drive around the reservation to the Canadian side concluded the tour. On a second occasion, the Institute toured the Indian Way School, an alternative school based on traditional Mohawk teachings, the home of the *Akwesasne Notes*, one of the best known and most widely distributed Indian newspapers in the country, and the traditional Longhouse on the St. Regis Reservation. At the Longhouse Mr. Mike Mitchell and Mr. Jerry Gambil discussed problems of education from their perspective.

Ray Fadden hosted the Institute at the Six Nations Indian Museum and related three messages concerning Indian history, Indian relations with the white man, and the misconceptions about Indians which exist to this day. Exhibits displayed traditional Iroquois life before the white man came to America, injustices perpetrated on the Indian and his reaction to them, the many great men and women who have made important contributions to Iroquois and non-Indian society, and arts and crafts currently made by Indian peoples.

The situation of the urban Indians was revealed in a meeting with members of the North American Indian Club of Syracuse. The club was formed four years ago to see what the city's Indians might accomplish by joining together. The club, although proceeding at a cautious pace in part the result of limitations of money, time, and people, has begun work on several projects.

In the Syracuse metropolitan area there are about 600 school age children. To improve their educational opportunities some Indian students attend programs like Head Start or Model Cities. The problem of being a minority among minorities is very pronounced within the urban setting. It is the experience of the Indian people that conflicts and misunderstandings are commonplace when they enter into a larger program of a different cultural base.

Somewhat frustrated in being a small part of these larger programs and because of racial prejudices they encounter, the Indians of Syracuse are starting some of their own programs. An Indian chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous is now in existence. In cooperation with the Syracuse Jaycees, the club soon intends to be working with Indians who are in jail. They also hope to establish liaison with other Indian clubs already in existence and to rely on their experiences.

In the area of education, the club would like to offer the opportunity to obtain a GED to Syracuse Indians. They have found that a lack of "how to" information has meant that students who might otherwise have attended college have not availed themselves of the opportunity. The Syracuse trip was concluded with a tour of the Onondaga Reservation and a visit to the annual arts and crafts fair held on the reservation.

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Universities, colleges, and other post-secondary institutions are just beginning to find out what is involved when Indian students arrive at their school. Several case histories were related during the course of the Institute.

Dartmouth College

At Dartmouth College a three-pronged program has been embarked upon that intends to meet the needs of the Indian students. Essentially, the education of Native Americans was the reason for establishing Dartmouth College in 1769. The new president of the college, Dr. John Kemeny, reaffirmed this long forgotten commitment in his inaugural address. But Dartmouth came to realize that commitment meant more than having a certain number of Indian students on campus. The students asked that they be able to function as Native Americans while attending Dartmouth. The Native American students claimed that "it is not enough for us to understand the institution, the institution has to understand us."

Mr. Stuart Tonemah and Mr. Michael Dorris explained the program and how they plan to institutionalize the services to insure continued support of Indian students at Dartmouth. The first part of the Dartmouth plan is the improvement of the curricular content and academic atmosphere of course offerings in which Indian students enroll and the development of an interdisciplinary Native American Studies program of which Mr. Dorris is chairman. Native American studies is built upon a core of four courses which consider specifically Indian subject areas. The remainder of the studies are in regularly offered college courses which have included Native American materials and content. Among these are history, anthropology, art, literature, education, English, music, philosophy, and sociology. Through interested department chairmen and joint appointments, Native American studies will not be outside the mainstream curriculum, but it will become an intrinsic part of Dartmouth's educational process. This approach will continue to encompass the entire college. At that point it is unlikely that the program will be easily dismantled. This approach also insures that non-Indians will be taught about the Native American.

The second part of the Dartmouth plan is the Native American program itself. This comprises recruitment, admissions, financial aid, counseling, and student services under the direction of Mr. Tonemah. He finds that it is essential that the various procedures be institutionalized and the college not be allowed to fall back on an isolated Native American program and personnel. Once again, this protects the program and it is not easily cast adrift. According to Mr. Tonemah, making these changes within the usual administrative channels forces the institution to question its rationale for wanting Native

Americans at the college. If the school finds that it is really committed, Mr. Tonemah believes that a minimum of three positions within the Native American program are vital to the success of the Indian student: a financial aids officer for Indian students, a counselor, and a program administrator.

The third part of the Dartmouth plan comes under the general heading of a Native American student organization. The formation of such an organization is for mutual activities and help among the Native Americans, the college as a whole, and for those in education and the community who the college hopes to serve.

Harvard University

Charles Poitras, a graduate student in education at Harvard University, detailed some of the actions being undertaken by Native Americans at that school. Much of the dissatisfaction at Harvard is also the result of a lack of commitment to Native Americans from a school that has a long and distinguished history and that professes to be in the vanguard of education today.

The Native Americans at Harvard contend that the university has an obligation to educate Indian students based on one of the original grants to establish the school. In this regard, Mr. Poitras read a document formulated by a Native American law student at Harvard which purports to show that Harvard's Charter places the university in a binding moral, legal, and possibly monetary obligation to the education of American Indians from the founding of the university to the present. The basis for this contention is a gift to Harvard for a building the purpose of which was to house and educate Indians. Native American students are now asking where the money is.

The Native American program at Harvard is focused in the graduate school of education. In Harvard's case, they are very careful to select students who can "cut it" academically. There is no special course for Indian education within the department. The Indian students are enrolled in the regular curriculum. The program is pointed to developing education practitioners–principals, curriculum experts, Head Start directors, and other action oriented personnel. Apart from these specialties, a basic concern within the education department is humanizing the classroom.

The Native Americans want to enlarge their program to include other professional schools and the undergraduate level. The Native American Program at Harvard is hindered by the independence of the various schools and colleges. The students are trying to discover how to best sensitize a specialized and closeted university of which Harvard is an extreme example. The Native American students want Harvard to evidence its own commitment beyond a dependence on federal financial support.

According to Mr. Poitras, Native Americans at Harvard also have been trying to define what obligations they, as students, have to their communities. A general feeling of responsibility to Native Americans of the Northeast and the Boston urban areas is held by the students. But an organized action has not yet developed and students have been left to work on projects of personal interest to them. One factor which militates against major organized projects, and a point recognized by many Native Americans in education, is the student's responsibilities to his own academics. An Indian student at any school, not only those which are academically demanding, can easily be trapped between fulfilling academic requirements, exploring his field of interest, maintaining contacts with home, and doing what his social conscience dictates. The family and friends back home may make demands on the student's time and skills. Leo Nolan noted that the student is often confronted with the choice of sacrificing academic time (and for those students who need extra studying time to compete successfully it is an even greater sacrifice) or the duties he feels to his people and family. What demands are placed upon students is a question that Indian people must answer, for it is a problem often encountered by the student. The long term benefits to the tribe may be greater if the student's attention to school is not interrupted. Students are really in school to get an education. When they start getting involved (which almost cannot be helped) and they try to do more, they often wind up losing out. Conflicts do arise; the Indian student sees all the problems in Indian affairs that need attention and he feels he is not contributing his share. But his academic work is important, too. It will prepare him for meeting those problems with greater skill and facility when he returns to his community.

University of Colorado

Unlike Dartmouth and Harvard, the Denver Center of the University of Colorado is in the midst of a large Indian population. At the Denver Center students found that trying to run the Native American program by themselves resulted in poor academic achievement. The university, according to Dr. Martha Symes, former acting director of the Native American student organization, offerred little in the way of help to the students. Dr. Symes does believe, however, that progress has been made in the past year. The students have since been authorized to select a director for the Native American program, their academic performance has reflected increased university support; three new courses have been scheduled, and they have been successful in recruiting greater numbers of Native Americans to the campus.

Although these improvements have been made, the Native American students still receive university support inferior to that of other minority groups at the Denver Center. Dr. Symes described the consequences of a small group of Indian students attempting to break in among large scale Afro-American and Chicano programs within a very competitive budgetary framework. Many of the support programs, for example, come under black or Chicano direction and the Native American students do not feel the program is really for their benefit.

The Native American student's recruiting success has helped alleviate the situation. The Native American program at the Denver Center is trying to service older urban Indian students who are products of BIA relocation and employment assistance programs. This has been made possible with the help of an open admissions policy implemented through a special probationary student procedure.

Canadian Education

Mr. Ernest Benedict, education officer for the Canadian Band of St. Regis Mohawks, shared his observations and experiences about Indian education in Canada. The Canadian government has adopted a policy that education be available to all. But for most Indian children, being subject to the "round-up" is not a blessing. Most of the communities are small and isolated. This means that boarding school is the only education available. From age six students may be transported up to 1200 miles away with no guarantee, unless the family can afford it, that the parents will see their children until age sixteen. Life at the boarding school weakens the student's identity with the community and in some cases will make the child unfit for his own home deep in the "bush" country. The irony is that the nature of the boarding school does not really leave them fit for the outside world either.

Trends in Canadian Indian education show some change. In 1966 four native students graduated from college from a student population of 35,000. In 1971 with a student population of 60,000, 56 natives graduated from college. At Trent University in Ontario where Mr. Benedict was an instructor in native studies, a gradual increase in course offerings which look at those things that make the native peoples of Canada a culturally different community from the rest of Canadian society has improved the prospects of Indians in education. However, the dropout rate remains high and, unfortunately, it is made worse by the fact that few native people go back to the reserves to teach other Canadian Indians.

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The Institute considered several current issues that have great importance for Indian people and which indirectly affect education. These topics are presently the basis of discussion within both the Indian community and the larger society. A full treatment would be a volume in itself and, indeed, many are now the subject of books and other accounts. In summary, we include the following highlights:

Treaty Rights

Chief Larry Lazore discussed treaty rights and the sovereignty to which they entitle Native Americans. Chief Lazore believes that recognition of these points by the larger society is one of the most important parts of any accomodation between the two groups. Using the example of how the St. Regis Reservation was carved and whittled away, he demonstrated how both the constitutions of the United States and the Iroquois Confederacy were violated. Chief Lazore advocates the paying of annuities by the current possessors of the land to the Indians. These annuities would make the Indian people self-sufficient and enable them to sustain an independent community free from further government assistance and interference.

Economic Development

Economic development is an obvious determinant in the future of the Indian community. As one of the more controversial issues within the Indian community, the why, where, what, and how of economic development receives considerable attention. Beyond the improvement of individual skills and education for economic benefit, any efforts to start businesses, attract industry, and obtain financing to provide jobs are not universally endorsed as a positive improvement of reservation life. Many would like to maintain the natural integrity of the environment and land on the reservation and adjacent properties. There is also concern that the values and characteristics of highly developed businesses are not compatible with traditional Indian life styles. Within this framework the Institute speakers devoted their time to discussing specific plans and concepts for economic development within local Indian communities. Al Jemison explained the work of the Senecas who have already completed several projects and Russell Lazore and John Cook talked of the difficulties in beginning similar programs among the Mohawks.

Migrant Work

A slide lecture on "Rapid Change at Rapid Lake" was presented by Dr. Paul King, professor of sociology and anthropology at Alfred State (New York). Rapid Lake is one of the Algonquin Indian communities in Quebec, Canada. The Indians there suffer problems familiar to isolated communities. Principal among these are neglect of education and health. Dr. King's slide series transported his audience from the mixture of beautiful, rugged and occasionally miserable conditions at Rapid Lake to the fur farms of Ontario County, New York where many Algonquin Indians try to earn a living along with other migrant workers. The slides graphically illustrated the conditions in which they were forced to work and live. Most of the conditions are typical of migrant camps but the slaughtering of the minks in aging facilities creates some of the worst sanitary conditions to be found in any migrant situation. The conditions, neglect, and ignorance contribute to a health crisis among the workers and their families which only exacerbates the general problems the Indian people confront.

Dr. King is involved in a program which is bringing child care, schooling, and dental and medical care to the Indian people and which hopes to bring action by the proper authorities to rectify conditions, many of which he and others believe to be unlawful.

The Urban Indian

Dr. Jack O. Waddell, professor of anthropology at Purdue University, spoke to the Institute on "Urbanization—its consequences for Indian adaptation to contemporary life." Dr. Waddell principally relied on research he conducted with Papago men and families in Tucson, Arizona to relate a small slice of urban Indian life. Dr. Waddell asserted that institution and agency directors or program formulators should know the reactions of target populations. He found that in the urban setting "the problems we are investigating are as much the making of the institutions or agencies as they are [the making of] the Indian people themselves." He found that to promote effective help the chances to speak must be maximized, not for local tribal elites, BIA specialists, or national leaders, but for the majority of Indian people who must cope with daily problems and whose opinion is not usually solicited.

The American Indian in Literature

In a brief examination, Dr. Thomas F. O'Donnell, a professor of English whose specialty is regional and ethnic American literature, gave a synopsis of the literary world's treatment of the American Indian. Dr. O'Donnell found that the events and forces, both literary and historical, of the first four decades of the nineteenth century were responsible for the stereotype of the American Indian that persists in white fiction to the present Dr. O'Donnell claimed that few attempts, and fewer serious ones, have been made to utilize historical or anthropological knowledge of the Indian or incorporate his present life situation in American fiction.

Dr. O'Donnell saw some hope in the emergence of the Indian as literary artist. *House Made of Dawn*, a Pulitzer Prize winning novel by N. Scott Momaday, was singled out for mention as a notable example of the literary capability of the American Indian. Dr. O'Donnell stated that *House Made of Dawn* is only one testimony among mounting evidence that "the modern Indian is capable of writing English as though he had invented it; evidence that he intends not to adopt the white man's language subserviently, but to move in on it, shape it to his purposes, and use it as an effective tool or, even, weapon." The rich oral tradition of the Indian is a resource with great potential, according to Dr. O'Donnell, and points to the promising future of Indian literature.

References Appendix

Finding a College, Obtaining Aid

Assistance is available to Native Americans through different agencies, organizations, and institutions. Help can be located by reference to various informational sources.

The most comprehensive informational booklet on financial aids and application procedures for American Indians is:

Scholarships for American Indians, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Higher Education, 123 4th St., S.W., P.O. Box 1788, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87102. This booklet is valuable to all Indian students, even those not within Bureau jurisdiction.

General guides and information about schools are included in Barron's Profiles of American Colleges and Guide to the Two-Year Colleges, Comparative Guide to American Colleges, Lovejoy's Vocational School Guide, plus many others. They should be available through your guidance office or they may be purchased at bookstores.

For specific information on colleges and universities which offer special programs and opportunities to American Indians, see:

Go My Son, Department of Indian Education, 126 BRMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 84601. This booklet gives comprehensive profiles on the schools included and can be valuable in making a college choice.

There is no substitute for personally visiting a prospective college. In this manner, you can obtain up-to-date information, talk with Indian students already enrolled (if any), and judge the general atmosphere of the school.

As a general rule, early contact with the financial aids officer at the college a student wishes to attend will be helpful in obtaining aid information. He may not be aware, however, of aid available specifically for American Indians. Check *Scholarships for American Indians*, your state education department, and the BIA. They may be aware of monies for which you qualify.

Be sure to check services and information offered under the general heading of minority aid. Many organizations are providing assistance for equal opportunity. For scholarship aid, for instance, see *Financing Equal Opportunity in Higher Education* (obtainable from the college Scholarship Service, Princeton, New Jersey, @ $1.00).

American Indian clearinghouses and informational centers are in the formative stages around the country. In the near future they may be functional and better known. For the present, tribal organizations, Indian clubs, and Indian newspapers, newsletters, and other groups can provide valuable information.

There are also clearinghouses which will provide college information for a fee. Below are listed several non-profit centers. There are additional commercial groups. Be sure to check all fees and charges first – they vary widely.

American College Admissions Center
1601 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

American Indian College Foundation
1419 Elizabeth Ave.
Charlotte, N.C. 28200

College Admissions Assistance Center
461 Park Ave. South
New York, N.Y. 10016

National Association of College Admissions Counselors
Suite 500
9933 Lawler Ave.
Skokie, Ill. 60076

Native Resource Centre
Westminster College U.W.O.
1467 Richmond N.
London 72, Canada

Private College Admissions Center
1738 Wisconsin Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

United Scholarship Service
Box 18285
Capitol Hill Station
Denver, Colorado

Films

Listed below are the films viewed during the Institute. Included is an approximate capsule rating (based on a scale of 1 to 5, offensive, poor, fair, good, excellent respectively) and sample comments for some of the films.

The Americans Visual Aids Service University of Illinois Champaign, Ill.	1.0	Series of films universally
Ballad of Crowfoot McGraw-Hill Films Hightstown, N.Y.	4.4	Takes a critical look at the westward expansion
Catlin and the Indians NBC-TV	3.8	Show's artist's depictions of Indians
Discovering American Indian Music Visual Aids Service	4.6	Creativity of Indian music presented
Drums Along the Mohawk Visual Aids Service	1.5	Stereotyped Hollywood Indian film
End of the Trail Visual Aids Service	3.8	Thought provoking story of Indian-white relations
The Forgotten American CBS-TV	4.0	Good, but somewhat outdated study of the Navajo
Indian Land National Film Board of Canada New York, N.Y.	3.6	Documentary; contrasts industrialization with untouched land; made by Indians about Indians
The Indian Way CBS-TV	4.2	Study of the St. Regis reservation in ecological mode
Ishi in Two Worlds McGraw-Hill Films	4.2	The poignant story of the last man of a California Indian tribe
Report From Wounded Knee Visual Aids Service	4.1	1890 Wounded Knee and My Lai incidents juxtaposed
You Are on Indian Land National Film Board of Canada	4.4	Documentary of bridge blockade protest filmed from Indian point of view

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St. Lawrence University

St. Lawrence University has become actively involved in providing assistance to local area Indians, particularly the St. Regis Mohawks, during the last four years. This institute on "The American Indian Student in Higher Education" is one manifestation of a growing commitment to educational and service projects which intend to foster the goals of the Indian people.

The wellspring of involvement for many of the projects that exist today is Operation Kanyengehaga, a joint project of the Mohawk people and St. Lawrence students, conducted on the St. Regis reservation. (Kanyengehaga is the Moahwk designation for their people, "the people of the place of the flint.") Started in 1969 at the request of concerned parents on the St. Regis Parents' Education Committee, Operation Kanyengehaga fulfills the immediate need for tutorial services. Tutoring in a wide range of subjects is provided for any Indian elementary or high school student who desires help with his school work. Students at the college coordinate arrangements on the campus while the Education Committee members direct the program.

As a result of Operation Kanyengehaga and the student and community involvement from which it grew, a second generation of efforts which broaden the base and give depth to the educational program have proliferated both on the St. Regis Reservation and at St. Lawrence. The three foremost projects are the Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center, Upward Bound, and this Institute.

In the first of these directly related efforts, St. Lawrence has been instrumental in the organization of fund-raising activities for the construction and operation of the Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center on the reservation. Speaking engagements, benefit dinners, athletic events, and church collections have been the basic means by which funds for the library were obtained. Now in its second year of operation, the library has acquired over 10,000 volumes and many artifacts and cultural exhibits. The library augments its services with a bookmobile which visits the schools on both the Canadian and American sides of the reservation.

The energy and accomplishment shown by the people of St. Regis in developing the only Indian conceived and directed library in the Northeast was a deciding factor in the selection by the National Indian Education Association Library Project of the Center as one of three demonstration projects in the United States. The financial and technical assistance provided under this program will enable the Library to develop a program and provide resources (which are unique in their orientation) equal to any community library. The NIEA assistance also strengthens Indian control of the Akwesasne Library.

The Library-Cultural Center, its energetic staff, and the leadership of the Mohawk people have quickly generated a nucleus for further community activities and educational programs. The Center serves as headquarters for the Tribal Administration, Operation Mainstream, and the Housing Project, as well as providing a meeting place for cultural events and other community activities. Classes meet at the Center in adult education, the Right to Read programs (both of which have been established under Indian direction), and college extension courses offered by Mater Dei College and North Country Community College. In the future, banking and medical facilities are proposed for the annex now being added to the Center.

Upward Bound, the second basic project, is a logical supplement to the tutoring program. By providing a wide range of supportive services, this year-round program is designed to prepare the educationally disadvantaged for higher education. Approximately three-quarters of the students enrolled in the St. Lawrence program are St. Regis Mohawks. Over the course of the year, which is highlighted by a six-week summer session, an attempt is made to expose the Upward Bound students to the college environment, make them feel comfortable, capture their imaginations, and motivate them to learn. Instructors and counselors try to generate excitement in the classroom, in activities, and in the tutoring sessions.

In a further effort to preserve the continuity of the tutoring program on the reservation as well as provide a summer learning experience for students younger than those eligible for the federally funded Upward Bound, St. Lawrence began a Pre-Upward Bound program of its own during the summer of 1972. Experience in the Upward Bound program, Operation Kanyengehaga, and this Institute demonstrated the importance of nurturing the students' enthusiasm for learning at an earlier age in an attempt to disarm some of the problems before they reach a crisis stage at later levels. Pre-Upward Bound is conducted concurrently with its older counterpart, and the two programs share some activities, field trips, and cultural events. *(Continued on inside back cover.)*

St. Lawrence University

(continued from back cover)

A Special Services program, also funded under the Division of Student Assistance of HEW, is planned to begin in the summer of 1973. The objectives of the program are to offer supportive services which will encompass the Indian population, particularly those in urban areas, of all New York State.

This Institute, the third of the founding projects, was initiated as a culmination of the experiences of tutors, parents, and administrators in the Operation Kanyengehaga tutoring program. It was generally agreed that both the Indian and college communities are poorly equipped to respond effectively to the needs of the Indian students who might otherwise be interested in attending college. As an initial step to help correct this problem, the first in a series of institutes involving college administrators and Indian education leaders and specialists was convened at St. Lawrence University in July, 1971.

The Institute has been instrumental in establishing direct lines of communication between Indian leaders and college administrators, giving higher education personnel a sensitivity for the problems of the Indian student, and imparting a working knowledge of the Indian culture, values, and life styles which will enable people in higher education to better communicate with the Indian student and community in expanding their educational opportunities. Additionally, the Institute hoped to inspire a commitment which would take root and lead to further efforts by the participants and their institutions.

Other projects which have been aided in the past were the North American Indian Traveling College, directed by Ernest Benedict, a Mohawk language course developed for the school district which most of the St. Regis students attend, and the second annual Iroquois Indian Conference hosted by St. Lawrence in July, 1971.

Projects and services such as these are important adjuncts to the programs and events conducted by the students and the Native Americans for Cultural Awareness of St. Lawrence. The development of programs and the gratifying results which have been obtained by St. Regis and St. Lawrence have rallied the other area institutions (another private four-year college noted for engineering, a four-year public school, a two-year community college, and a two-year public technical school) to lend assistance as a team to the community and individual students according to their respective capacities.

When the Mohawks blockaded the bridge to Canada in protest of treaty right violations, St. Lawrence discovered that they had an Indian reservation right near their college. Word was sent through Ernie Benedict, a St. Lawrence graduate, to find out what the university might do to aid us. This was a switch. Usually, people tell us what is good for Indians. We held a tribal meeting and the parents decided that we could use tutoring for the children. This is how the tutorial program came about.
Minerva White

The St. Regis Mohawk community and St. Lawrence University wish to express their sincere gratitude for the generous gifts and assistance received from numerous interested foundations, corporations, civic groups, and individuals. These unselfish gestures of friendship, coupled with government support through various offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and other agencies, have enabled the St. Regis Reservation to take the initial steps toward the realization of their ambitious objectives of community improvement through education. In addition to the many projects underway, several grants awarded to St. Lawrence have proved invaluable in the enrichment of educational opportunities offered at the university. Curricular development, special events, and an extensive series of guest lecturers and displays of Indian artifacts have been made possible through foundation sponsorship.

These gifts, particularly those from the local community, have given birth to a highly productive interaction creating a growing relationship of understanding and appreciation between the North Country and Indian communities. The Indian's knowledge of himself and the ability to live with minimal difficulty in two societies can only strengthen the bonds of this growing relationship. With continued support, the Indian community will be able to affirm their historical and cultural contributions to a diverse civilization. St. Lawrence will continue to assist the Indian community in attaining their objectives.